National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR. WITHOUT CONCEALMENT...WITHOUT COMPROMISE. EDMUND QUINCY, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

VOL. XIII. NO. 18. NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1852. WHOLE NO. 642.

Published weekly, on Thursday, by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, at their office, No. 142 NASSAU STREET, NEW-YORK. Terms, Two Dollars per annum. Printed for the American Anti-Slavery Society, by NORRIS & JOHNSTON, printers, No. 21 Spruce street.

Selections.

LETTER FROM HORACE MANN.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE (LATELY EIGHTH, NOW) THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS.

FELLOW CITIZENS: You will soon be called upon to elect a Representative to Congress to fill my place. I have lately received many private letters, kindly expressing the hope that I may be my own successor. I take this occasion to thank my constituents for the honours already received from their hands, and to decline being again a candidate for the office.

It is well known to my friends that, a long time previous to my last election, I had intended to decline a re-nomination. But peculiar circumstances, for a time, connected my name with the great principles of Freedom and Humanity, and these principles, no sacrifice could tempt or force me to abandon. I was therefore induced to forego my intention of retiring, and, in due time, you upheld these principles by electing me again. Intervening events, which everybody knows, and therefore I need not repeat, make a recurrence of the same circumstances impossible; and hence I can conceive of no motive which can prompt me to change the determination which, at the time of my last election, I formed, not to accept the office again.

In closing a political relation with my constituents, which, at its termination, on the 4th of March next, will have lasted for six years, I cannot disguise the fact that I do not now leave our beloved country; nor the reputation of the country in the minds of the moral and humane in all other countries; nor the cause of Civil Liberty; nor the avowed and cherished principles of the great majority of the party that first elected me, as they were when I accepted the office I am now about to lay down. The country has changed its policy, if not its faith. The reputation of the Republic abroad is tarnished. The cause of civil Liberty has received a vital stab. And many of those whom I personally respect, and who flattered me at least with their political, if not their personal friendship, six years ago, have left me to contend alone for the great principles which they then deposited as a sacred trust in my hands. Whether they or I have quitted the ground on which we then stood together, history will determine.

Under these circumstances, self-vindication seems to demand a brief retrospect. I shall look back, however, over the mournful past, in no criminating spirit. Regret for my country, grief for the cause of Humanity, obliterate every feeling of personal unkindness. What man, with a human heart in his bosom, would not love even his worst enemies, to conciliate them in favour of the freedom of mankind and of the welfare of posterity?

At the time I accepted office as your Representative, a feeling prevailed throughout all the Northern States, which I believe to have been stronger and more unanimous than ever existed on any other subject, against the acquisition of foreign territory for purposes of Slavery-extension. Should any territory be acquired, the feeling was equally earnest and unanimous in favour of excluding Slavery from it by positive law.

How has that feeling—which was demanded by every principle of worldly policy as by every precept of Christian ethics—been respected? How has it respected itself?

The vast territory of Utah has been since acquired and organized. So far from any prohibition of Slavery being incorporated into its organic law, that law contains an express provision that "when admitted as a State, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union, with or without Slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission."

The same provision in the same words is contained in the act establishing the territory of New Mexico. Thus instead of such a prohibition of Slavery, as I was virtually instructed, a hundred times over, to vote for, there is a positive permission of it; and a permission, under such circumstances, is an invitation to carry slaves there, and a promise to defend the masters and legalize the bondage.

This is not a barren provision of law, nor a delusive or nugatory promise. As appears by the last Census, Slavery already exists in Utah. Mr. Bernhisel, the delegate from that territory in Congress, informs me, that there is nothing in the Mormon religion prohibiting it. No obstacle, therefore, now exists to its overspreading that wide region, if not for agricultural, at least for domestic purposes, and for working mines, should mines be discovered, as they undoubtedly will be, on the confines of California, or its other unexplored parts.

Not only have military and other officers from the South taken their slaves with them into New Mexico, but in recent conversations with Judge Houghton (who was a judge there after its conquest and I believe administered the Kearney code, and is well acquainted with the country and its people), he informed me that there are not less than twelve or fifteen hundred slaves in that territory at the present time. They are Indian and not African, which is the only reason I know of why they are not set down in the late census. They were purchased of the Indians, while children or minors, and are now held as slaves, whatever their age. Such persons are bought from their Indian parents at a lower price than that at which African slaves can be imported from the South. The effect may therefore be, for a brief period, to prevent the importation of those of African descent; but Judge Houghton expressed to me an undoubting opinion that whenever capital shall be invested in mines (and valuable mines are already known to exist there), slaves will be introduced for working them. What else can be expected under the special guaranty of the act of organization?

The Chief Justice of New Mexico, nominated by Mr. Fillmore, is from the State of Mississippi, reputed to be a slaveholder, and ready to decide that Slavery, notwithstanding the Mexican law abolishing it, may have a legal existence in that territory. During the early part of the present year, Mr. Fillmore had just cause to dismiss him from office for malconduct, but declined to do so.

And besides all this, there has been an express cession, without justifiable cause or equitable consideration, of more than fifty thousand square miles of free territory—more than six times as much as the whole area of the State of Massachusetts—to slaveholding Texas. This free territory has already passed under the jurisdiction of a State whose Constitution prohibits even its Legislature from abolishing Slavery. And, as though there could be no end to the devotion or bounty of our government in behalf of this institution, TWENTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS—ten millions in the form of principal and ten millions' worth of interest—have been granted to Texas, with which to pay her debts, replenish her treasury, develop her resources, attract slaveholding emigrants to her fertile soil, and prepare a brood of slave States for early admission into the Union. Of this twenty millions, Massachusetts will have to pay not less than two millions.

Fellow citizens: am I not justified in saying that from 1844 to 1850, there never was any principle of government policy dearer to all the moral, religious and patriotic people of Massachusetts, more frequently set forth with the solemnity of legislative resolutions, more regularly voted by acclamation in political Conventions, or more universally advocated, reiterated and insisted on by all our newspapers, secular and religious, than that of the great ordinance of 1787, by which perpetual freedom was secured to the vast region Northwest of the Ohio River? Where are those resolutions, appeals, arguments—those rivalries to see who should be foremost and loudest in excluding Slavery from free territory—where are they now? From either of the great political parties that divide the country, do we hear so much as an echo of their former protestations?

When I was first elected to Congress, our whole State was animated by one sentiment, in favour of abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia. The leading citizens of the District had petitioned for it. Mr. Clay and other great statesmen affirmed the power of Congress to do it. The honour of the country and the rights of humanity demanded the exercise of that power. We are now told by two-thirds of the Southern States that Slavery in the District shall not be abolished but on penalty of the dissolution of the Union; and all the Northern leaders of the two great political parties humbly succumb to the threat.

Up to 1850, the only law which existed for the reclamation of fugitive slaves had been adjudged unconstitutional in many of its details, and, owing to its oblivion of the fundamental principle of a free government in not providing a trial by jury for questions of human freedom, it had fallen into general desuetude.

Now we have a law on this subject, which, in express words, denies the trial by jury, and the writ of habeas corpus, and creates a set of officials lower than the hated stipendiaries of other governments; for they get the hire of their iniquity not in stipends but in special fees, and greater fees when they uphold it. It is a law which has no saving clause of mercy for man or woman, whose former "owner" may have acquiesced in their self-emancipation until acquiescence has become the strongest of all relinquishments of claim. It is a law which has filled the hearts of a whole race of free people with consternation and dismay. Yet such a law, living and active, invading homes of peace and bosoms of contentment, we now have, instead of one which, from its unconstitutionality and its odiousness, had become substantially obsolete. This law, all "good citizens" are required to obey, under enormous penalties of fine and imprisonment, and the two great parties have given their public adhesion to it.

Strange and incredible as it may seem, fellow-citizens, any man amongst us, who bears a pirate's heart in his bosom, may, to-day, "build, fit, equip, or otherwise prepare any ship or vessel, in any port or place, within the jurisdiction of the United States," for carrying on the African slave trade, and not necessarily incur any greater pecuniary penalty than he would do by giving a cup of cold water, or a crust of bread, or a rag of clothes, or a night's shelter, to a trembling, imploring, panting fugitive; or doing any other thing in his behalf which Christ has exhorted and commanded us to do for the naked, hungry, or imprisoned. On this point, obedience to the injunctions of Christ, and fitting out a vessel for the African slave trade, may be visited by the same pecuniary penalty! The length of imprisonment in the two cases is different, but, to balance this, he who offends by obeying the law of Christ is fined an extra thousand dollars for the "owner" of the slave, while the piratical kidnapper on the coast of Africa, and his accessories, pay nothing to the injured party. May I not ask what kind of a God the men believe in who can make or uphold such laws!

Under such a formidable series of aggressions upon every principle dear and sacred to freemen, how could it be expected that any one who had not lost not merely his manhood, but his memory, could remain silent? Were men silent, would not the stones in the streets cry out? But even this exigency of the case is provided for; for both the late Baltimore Conventions have commanded silence on the flagrancy of these wrongs, and both the Whig and Democratic Conventions of this State have adopted and ratified the Baltimore platforms. Thus have fetters been put upon Free Speech. What more remains but to put fetters upon our limbs? Should this fail, the law of treason needs not to be stretched an inch further than it has already been stretched by some of our judicial authorities and United States functionaries, ignominiously to extinguish the life whose words they cannot suppress.

I beseech my fellow-citizens to ponder upon these things. Let them ask themselves whether, until within the last two years, they ever heard of Northern politicians publicly advocating and defending the extension of Slavery into free territory? If, until within the same period, they ever heard of Northern men forbidding Freedom of Speech in regard to the greatest wrong that man can commit or endure? If, until this calamitous epoch, they ever heard of one minister of the Gospel, of Puritan stock, palliating Slavery in a New England pulpit, and using religious services to bestow encomiums and honour upon the champions and co-labourers of Southern slaveholders? or ever before heard the religion of the Bible brought down to the level of the practice of slave-hunting and slave-breeding men? Is it not time that the people should rise in their majesty, and restrain those wrongs?

And what compensation has the North received? What compensation has any Northern man received, for thus turning his back upon his former principles—for thus turning his back upon himself? During the Summer of 1850, it was a common saying, in certain quarters, that by yielding the Compromise measures to Southern slaveholders, we might obtain protection for Northern labour; and more than one man has said in my hearing, "Congress ought to have kept back the Compromises until they had got the Tariff." Though nothing could be more abhorrent to my feelings than to barter Human Liberty for money, yet let me ask those who differ from me on this point, and who were willing to exchange the rights of a race for commercial profit—let me ask them this question: "Have you got your Tariff?" And who has turned out to be the truer prophet, they who beguiled you with the promise of a Tariff, or I, who forewarned you from the beginning that, by such means, you never would get it?

And again: Have these Compromise measures, so fatal to Freedom, increased commerce with the South? Have the South consumed, or been able to pay for, a single additional yard of cloth, or pound of iron, a nail or a shoe-peg, more than they would have done had Northern members of Congress never helped them to pass the Compromise measures and the Fugitive Slave Bill? What advantage, then, have merchants or manufactures obtained? What reward have politicians received, save the breaking up of their parties and the destruction of individual hopes, with the keen sense of shame, if not of remorse, which now take their places? And what return has the great and populous North obtained, save the filling up of the darkest page ever yet written in our country's history?

As for the notion that Danger to the Union has been averted, I will not spend a penful of ink on so flimsy and unsubstantial a pretence. That alarm was fabricated in the manufactory of humbugs, when the raw material was all gone. Every business man must have observed, in the latest advices from Europe, that the recent flurry about the Fisheries (which excited no apprehension in any sober mind, on either side of the water) caused an entire suspension of operations, in American stocks, in the London market. So sensitive is Credit—so superstitiously alive to the first tremour of civil commotion—shrinking from the possibility of danger, like a consumptive man from an East wind. And yet, during the whole of the year 1850, while the half-score of Presidential aspirants at Washington—who had become responsible that the Union should be in danger—employed every political Boreas to blow the alarm, and every political ventriloquist to cry with his thousand voices, they could not depress the value of American securities, either in the foreign market or in our own, an infinitesimal part of a mill. The reason why the capture of a fishing-smack affected the business of London—while the cry of a Dissolution of the American Union passed unheeded—was, that the latter was known to be theatrical only, and to have no more reality in it than the show-bills at the corners of the city streets, which declare that "This night Moscow is to be burned!" So baseless and fraudulent was this clamour about Danger to the Union! East and West, and along Mason and Dixon's line, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the solid earth will be rifted asunder, and the waters of both oceans mingle in the chasm, sooner than this Union will be dissolved from any cause growing out of Slavery. Too well for this, do the South know their doom of avenging fire and blood, if separated from the North!

And how have these calamities been brought upon the politics, the business, and the reputation of the country? The answer is too plain for argument. Obviously, by a "Coalition" (I decline to prefix the adjective "corrupt," which use has made so familiar to our ears)—obviously, I say, by a "Coalition" between Northern politicians and Southern slaveholders, on points where, if we may put any confidence in the acts and asseverations of men's whole lives, the sentiments of the former were as opposite to the latter as light is to darkness. They have *coalesced* to open vast regions to all the woes and crimes of human bondage; to doom a tract of country six times larger than Massachusetts to immediate and perpetual Slavery; to forego our constitutional right and the demands of the moral and religious sentiment of Christendom, in regard to Slavery in the District of Columbia; to pass such a law as the Fugitive Slave law; and to forbid not only opposition to all or any of these things, but even the peaceable discussion of them.

Has not this proved to be one of those "Coalitions" or "Leagues" which Lord Brougham meant when he said, "Their greatest evil, certainly, is the one most difficult to be shunned—their tendency to deliver over the many to the guidance of the few, in matters where no dominion ever should be exercised—to make the opinions adopted by leading men pass current, without any reflection, among their followers—to enfeeble and corrupt the public mind, by discouraging men to think for themselves [by forbidding men to discuss the most vital questions?]—and to lead multitudes into courses which they have no kind of interest in pursuing, in order that some designing individuals may gain by their folly or their crimes."

"As society advances," he adds, "such delusions will become more and more difficult to practise."

May we not hope that society, in this Commonwealth, is now so far advanced, and that public sentiment among us has now become so enlightened and christianized as to render any farther "delusion," which shall lead to the extension or perpetuation of Slavery, impossible?

In conclusion, I wish again to express gratitude to my friends, good wishes to all my enemies (if any I have, and what political man is without them?), and to assure those who have co-operated with me, that I have no further desire for any political office whatever, but that I intend, in a private way, and according to the measure of my ability, to spend the remnant of my days in advancing the same great objects to which my life has hitherto been devoted.

HORACE MANN.

West Newton, Sept. 10, 1852.

—*Dedham (Mass.) Gazette.*

WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

TENTH ANNUAL REPORT.

JOYFUL for the success of the past, and hopeful for the future, the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, present their tenth Annual Report.

The financial affairs of the last year will be fully presented in the report of the Treasurer, to which the Society is referred.

The Committee have been embarrassed, in consequence of the non-payment of the pledges made during previous years, and the delinquencies of subscribers to the *Anti-Slavery Bugle.* Of these subscribers, the Publishing Agent has recently struck from the list about 200, who are owing to the Society a sum not much short of $1,000. The Committee have resolved, hereafter to discontinue these extended credits to subscribers, and some of their number have advocated the requisition of payment strictly in advance. In consequence of the lack of agents, little has been done by way of soliciting contributions, and much of what has been received has therefore been eminently a free-will offering, evincing, on the part of the donors, a devotion to the cause which is highly encouraging.

The annual fair, conducted by the ladies of Salem, aided by those of various other places, was successful beyond the anticipations of its friends, considering the unfavourable circumstances under which it was held. The proceeds devoted to the objects of our society, were very opportunely received. Valuable contributions were made to the fair, and thus to the Society, by the ladies of Adrian, and vicinity, in Michigan, and also by the committee of the Philadelphia Fair.

We have also the pleasure of acknowledging the munificent gift to the cause, by a gentleman and his wife at the West, of eleven hundred dollars. Two hundred of it have been realized during the past year, the remainder will probably not be available for two or three years to come. We are not permitted to announce the names of these friends. But not the less on that account will the slave and all his true friends bless them; and not the less will Heaven confirm that blessing.

Their disinterested devotion to the cause is additionally manifest, by their request of the committee, to concentrate the labour which might result from their contributions, upon Ohio, Indiana, or wherever they deemed it most advantageously bestowed, without regard to their own locality. The general emulation of this spirit, in contributions and labours, would regenerate our land—would make it the home of the free—the habitation of virtue and love. We commend the example to all who profess regard for the slave and for humanity.

The *Anti-Slavery Bugle,* which has now nearly completed its seventh volume, has been, as heretofore, looked upon by the committee as a most important instrumentality. And they ask of all the friends of the Society, their earnest co-operation in extending its circulation. With the utmost care and economy on the part of the committee, the publishing agent, and the printer, the expense of publication has been reduced lower than ever before, and the annual receipts augmented. The expense of publication the last year has been about $1,660. The receipts for advertising and on subscripton have been $1,250 69, to be paid from the general fund. A draft, less by $300 than that required the year previous. Yet, even this, should be rendered unnecessary, the coming year, and the paper made a paying concern. It will be, with its present number of subscribers, if all will promptly pay their subscriptions. For this we appeal to all the readers of the paper. It is not an appeal for charity, but for justice.

Deeply as ever impressed with the importance of the labours of the living speaker to our success, the committee have done what they could to meet the numerous and earnest demands upon them, for aid in that department. Yet our utmost efforts have been so inadequate, as to be almost a mockery to the wants of the people and the interests of the cause.

Mr. Pillsbury's invaluable services were continued in this State, between two and three months after our last anniversary. In company with Mr. and Mrs. Griffin, he successfully visited Medina, Huron, Lorain and adjacent counties, and it was with regret they were compelled to cut short their labours in that promising field. Miss Sallie Holley also laboured very acceptably to the people, for some weeks at that period.

At the same time, also, C. C. Burleigh visited several towns in Western Pennsylvania—besides numerous places in this State, and was everywhere cordially welcomed by friends and gladly heard. We are also indebted to Mr. Burleigh for an interesting and valuable mission performed in this State, the last Spring. His time then being mainly spent in the South-western part of the State.

J. W. Walker, with his habitual devotion, has laboured as our agent during most of the year. He spent three months of the winter in Michigan, where he met from Abolitionists a cordial reception. They extended to him their co-operation, and contributed to the funds of the society a sufficient amount to defray the expenses of his visit to the State. While there, he was for a time aided by the voluntary services of Henry C. Wright, till failing health compelled him to retire, leaving Mr. Walker to necessarily increased labours, which he faithfully performed, though they were rendered more trying by the severity of the season. Michigan presents a most inviting field for Anti-Slavery labour. Well has it repaid all that has been bestowed upon it. No truer friends of freedom can be found than those in that State have proved themselves. Their earnest request is, for more labourers, accompanied with the assurance, that to the faithful presentation of the truth, the intelligent philanthropy of the State will promptly respond.

John F. Selby has laboured as the agent of the Society, for several months, in Western Pennsylvania. The friends in the various places he has visited have given a good report of his labours, and have shown their appreciation of their worth, by contributions to his support.

The radical Anti-Slavery press of the country is growing in favour and receiving a more liberal support. The *Liberator* and *Anti-Slavery Standard* are doing their thorough and efficient work, elevating the tone of community to their own high standard of morals as applied to American Slavery. The *Pennsylvania Freeman,* under the conduct of Oliver Johnson, has been enlarged—its circulation increased and its prospect and opportunity for usefulness augmented. Some of the Free Soil papers of this State are doing a good work in the community, and present a more aggressive spirit in regard to Slavery than heretofore.

The Anti-Slavery conventions of the past year have been marked with enthusiasm and hopeful energy. They have done much to inspire with confidence and stimulate to action the Anti-Slavery men and women of the land. Such was the meeting in Cincinnati in April last—such the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society at Rochester—the annual gatherings of the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania State Societies, and the New England Convention, and such the numerous local conventions held in various parts of the country.

The year we now close has not been less fruitful in incident and development than those which have preceded it. All have slowly tended to the object we seek, viz.: the disruption of the ties which bind freedom to Slavery. All, whether brought about by the friends or enemies of freedom, have more deeply [illegible] public mind, that neither in Church or State can we serve liberty and Slavery, as we have vainly attempted to do.

The outrages of Slavery upon the North, under cover of the fugitive law, and the quiet submission with which the great body of the people have received them, affords a melancholy index of our national democracy. Under the influence of this law, the Colonisation Society has been warmed into new life and activity. The law and the Society harmonize alike with that prejudice at the North which degrades and expells the coloured man, and with that cupidity at the South which would remove whatever endangers the security or the profit of Slavery. The Society has therefore meanly taken advantage of the terror and despair with which the law has stricken the hearts of our free coloured population. In their terror for their liberty and their lives, it has endeavoured to inveigle them into its meshes, and transport them to Africa. Its agents have perambulated the North persuading coloured people—soliciting funds and declaiming on the glories of Africa evangelized. Its receipts the past year have been augmented, and its hopes of governmental aid excited, though as yet to be realized. Its influence is also seen in the convention of the free coloured colonisationists in Baltimore city. An unexampled event, but one which received the favour and protection of slave owners, and Slavery propagandists. We are glad to learn that, notwithstanding the exposed and defenceless position of our free coloured people, and though their safety compels them to emigrate, they are generally unwilling to trust that philanthropy which thrives and extends itself by a partnership with Slavery and legalized kidnapping.

A few days after our last anniversary, the slave-hunter Gorsuch met a bloody retribution at the hands of his intended victims at Christiana. The succeeding history of that event—the murderous purpose of the government to destroy under form of law the lives of innocent citizens—its attempt to revive, from the exploded despotism of past ages, the doctrine of constructive treason, and engraft it upon our own judiciary—is familiar to all those interested in the cause of freedom; but we fear forgotten by those multitudes who are striving to perpetuate the power which attempted all this.

The rescue of Jerry at Syracuse, with its antecedent case at Boston, in connection with the bloody resistance of Christiana—the savage but unsuccessful assault upon Daniel at Buffalo, with other failures; the firmness of the coloured people—and the decided tone of Northern citizens in many localities speaking the language of resistance and defiance; all these causes have in a most salutary manner deterred from very numerous efforts to execute this law.

New York and Pennsylvania have especially suffered from the incursions of slave-hunters; while Ohio, bordering upon two slave States, and numbering many well beaten thoroughfares to Queen Victoria's realm, has been unvisited by legal kidnappers. This is the more observable, as the fugitives residing among us are numerous, and the places of their residence in many cases well known to their claimants. We know of no reason to deter them from the attempt to recapture their estrayed property, except a wholesome regard to what they deem the public sentiment of the community where the fugitives have taken refuge. Two year's rule of this law has resulted in the recapture of less than a score and a half of victims, thus proving it, for all purposes of reclamation, a failure. Two months have passed since Whigs and Democrats recorded their solemn pledge at Baltimore, that it should not only be a finality, but a living actuality, with their aid and support. And yet the South has never dared to test their fidelity to this oath. The only gain of the perpetuity of this law, so insisted upon by the South, will be its perpetuity as a badge of Northern humiliation and servility.

A marked event of the past year, and one not unconnected with our enterprise, has been the visit of Kossuth. He came among us, the authorized apostle of liberty. To secure the object of his mission, with unfortunate inconsistency, he bowed in silent homage to the dark spirit of Slavery! He suffered it to palsy his tongue in regard to a tyranny such as Hungary, with all her wrongs, has never known. It induced him to pour forth flattery, with unheard-of eloquence, upon the tyrants whose money and favour be sought to win. He has left us a sad and disappointed man. May his policy and his failure be a warning to all future advocates of freedom. Thus will his mission not be in vain. It will not. For notwithstanding his silent complicity with Slavery, he has left engraved upon the hearts of the people great truths, which will never be forgotten. Terrible is the guilt, and unmeasured the meanness, of this nation, which could thus tempt the great apostle and martyr of European freedom from his fidelity, and then dismiss him—an exile—dishonoured and despairing. It is a work worthy of American Slavery and of its supporters to have achieved.

Though a large majority of the ministers and churches of the West are dead to all actively benevolent regard to the slave, and are blindly and heartlessly opposing his friends, and sustaining and sanctifying the giant wickedness of our land, we can yet refer, with great pleasure, to the more favourable position of many of the clergy, and to the agitation of the question in many of the churches. The Free Presbyterian movement in Ohio has, in its success, evinced a still remaining conscience, and a susceptibility of moral influence, which we had begun to despair of ever seeing aroused in the church. The christian Anti-Slavery Conventions, which have been held during the last year, have exhibited an advancement in Anti-Slavery position and an unwonted boldness in the utterance of truth. One immediate result of this outspoken fidelity to the slave has been to prove anew that even evangelical orthodoxy may not speak and act in *earnest* without affixing to itself the stigma of infidelity. But we rejoice to know that the best of our churches are still undetered. While this is so, there is hope that the bonds of the slave may be broken, and liberty proclaimed through all the land to all the inhabitants thereof.

For the whole year past, the country has been filled with notes of preparation for the presidential conflict. Abundantly satisfied with the experience of Northern slave-drivers, those who, for years, have in this government set up one, and put down another, proclaimed their intention of having the candidates from the North; declaring that the test of fitness should be an approval of the compromise measures, a declaration of their finality, and a solemn pledge for their faithful execution. No regard was had, or even professed, to Northern opinions—to Northern interest, or principles. It was deemed a full equivalent for all that was valuable in northern interests, that two of her citizens who should be found most servile, heartless, and unprincipled, should receive nominations for the Presidency. Northern Whigs and Democrats readily consented to this valuation of their honour and distinctive interests. Candidates of unquestioned qualification came forward in unexampled numbers, glad to barter, at the stipulated price, their manhood, their liberty, and their souls. The only rivalry between the candidates and the parties was, who should sink lowest in the depths of infamy and wickedness.

The nominations have been made. The South has got of all others the man she wants. Either one is true to her purpose, and yet she has proudly rejected those who were most meanly servile, to obtain her favour. They damned themselves to infamy, and then lost the reward they sought, though not the one they merited.

We have no language with which to characterize the principles to which these candidates are pledged. Nor is it needful. The heart of every honest man can do nothing less than reject them, with indignation and scorn, mingled with contempt and pity for the men who avow them.

Dark is this view of our political horizon. But yet we will not despair. Even the slave-catching law, with its infernal principles, and the monstrous savageism of its execution, has not been in vain. Nor in vain is the present position of the pro-slavery parties of the land. It compels the members of those parties to acknowledge to themselves that they are the supporters of the worst of all despotisms, and in very shame they are silent. They make no pretensions, and we have for once no hypocrisy of this kind to expose. It has arrayed more distinctly the parties for Freedom and Slavery, and has made deeper and broader the gulf between them.

To the same end has tended the recent Pittsburgh Convention, though by the opposite course of action. That convention, by its numbers, its enthusiasm, its boldness, gives hope of greater good from the labours of political Anti-Slavery than ever before. There is nothing to fear from the recklessness and daring of Slavery if it provokes a corresponding boldness on the part of the friends of freedom. These have conscience and heart in their work. They have on their side the co-operation of truth, and true men everywhere—while the very boldness of despotism often demonstrates only its desperation and weakness. Never, since the great compromise with Slavery in the adoption of the constitution, has such a body of politicians assumed so bold and defiant a position. Though portions of their platform do inferentially recognise the obligation to support Slavery, or at least to let it alone under State authority, yet its more positive and direct assertions repudiate the idea. Without violence of interpretation, its language may be construed into a repudiation of all laws and compacts which support Slavery.

The difference between Free Soilers and ourselves heretofore has been this: They limited and regulated their action against Slavery by the requirements of the constitution. They acknowledged the right of the slaveholder, by virtue of the constitutional compact, to hold his slaves within his own State, and to capture them out of it, in such manner as the constitution prescribed. They approved of the Union of the States, with the constitution as the bond, prescribing the forms and limitations, under which Freedom and Slavery should co-exist and cooperate "for the general welfare."

We, on the other hand, have uniformly denied the rightful existence of Slavery, any and everywhere. We have refused to recognise the validity of any law, constitution, or compact of union, which sustains it, whenever, wherever, however or by whomsoever made. Hence we have repudiated the slave-catching constitution as heartily as the slave-catching law, and have sought, and do still seek, not a removal of the mere incidents and inseparabilities of Slavery, while continuing our union with State robbers of human liberty—not to make "Slavery sectional," but to make LIBERTY UNIVERSAL. We therefore seek the dissolution of the proslavery Union which now exists, as an indispensable prerequisite to a union for freedom.

The Pittsburgh Convention, by declaring that "none can be deprived of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, by *valid legislation,* except for crime"—"That Slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man, which no law nor usage can make right"—by denying the "binding force" of the fugitive law upon the American people—by so interpreting the constitution as to bring it in harmony with its avowed object, viz., "to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty," thus nullifying the conflicting provisions of that instrument, which recognise and sanction Slavery; the convention, by these plain declarations, has affirmed the great truth we have so long contested with the Free Soil party, that the law of justice is supreme, and all conflicting enactments and covenants are null and void. So far as a declaration of opinion can go, the Free Democracy are now justly obnoxious to the charge which, while they bore another name, they warmly repelled; that of being the enemies of the existing Constitution and Union, but one to which it has ever been our highest glory to plead guilty. We anxiously wait the action of these friends in correspondence with this principle. There is need that they maintain it with decision and firmness. It is the only one that can successfully contest with the grasping and unscrupulous slave power. There is need for the union of all whose desires are for justice, upon the highest and purest principles of Freedom.

We are yet in the midst of the battle. The victory is not won, nor even the triumphant progress of Slavery checked. It is yet marching from conquering to conquer. Whether Scott or Pierce shall lead its forces, the next four years will, we fear, witness the annexation of slave-ridden Cuba, and the extension of the national power, and with it Slavery, over the Sandwich Islands, and a large portion of Mexico. To thwart these purposes of slave extension, we propose to strike at Slavery itself wherever we can make a blow available. It has no hiding-place so venerable that we may not search out and expose its abomination; it can fly to no altar so sacred as to shield it from our assaults. We wage no defensive war. It is one of extermination.

Especially is it required of the members and friends of this Society that they remain firm in their hostility to any union with the slave power for the sake of temporary advantage. The history of the nation proves that such unions are always destructive to liberty. Our special work, the regeneration of public sentiment, is yet unattained. Let us not be diverted from it by any doubtful instrumentalities, or by directing our main force against mere side issues with the slave power. Such will but weaken our power and defer the day of our success.

TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Society assembled in Friend's Meeting-house in Salem, August 21st, 1852.

The meeting was called to order by John Smith, of Mecca, one of the Vice Presidents. The President being absent, B. Bown was appointed President *pro tem.* On motion, James Hambleton, Eliza L. Thomas and J. W. Towner were appointed assistant Secretaries.

On motion, Parker Pillsbury, J. W. Walker, Oliver Johnson, Lewis Morgan, Maria L. Giddings and Emily Robinson were appointed a Business Committee.

During the absence of the committee, the meeting was entertained by B. Bown, Jacob Heaton and Marius R. Robinson.

Business Committee reported through their chairman, in part.

First series of resolutions, relating to the pro-slavery character of the American Church, were then taken up, and discussed at some length, by Parker Pillsbury, who, in a strain of thrilling eloquence, spoke of the value of human liberty, and therefore the indescribable sin of making merchandise of man, or countenancing it, by recognising the right of slaveholders to religious or political fellowship with freemen.

Joseph Barker made interesting remarks, defining his position in reference to the Anti-Slavery movements of the day; said that he felt that his spiritual home was among the most ultra Abolitionists, but that he had no hesitation in occasionally leaving his home and acting with others, to strike an effective blow in the right direction; gave encouraging examples, to show the good effects of agitation in changing the sentiments of the people.

Adjourned to meet at half past two.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Meeting came to order, President in the chair—house being crowded. I. Pierce made remarks in favour of voting. J. W. Walker and Parker Pillsbury made effective speeches in support of the resolutions.

On motion of K. G. Thomas, a Committee of nine on Nominations was appointed, consisting of K. G. Thomas, Samuel Myers, Mary Gilbert, Oliver O. Brown, Marcena Miller, Maria L. Giddings and Hannah Wileman.

On motion, a Committee of five were appointed on Finance, consisting of James Barnaby, Elizabeth Vickers, Samuel Brook, Ann Shreeve and D. H. Hise.

Reading of the resolutions called for. Frederick Douglass took exception to the wording of 2d resolution. Oliver Johnson moved an amendment—discussed at some length by Joseph Barker, Park Pillsbury, I. Pierce, Marius R. Robinson, and Frederick Douglass. The motion to amend was then withdrawn and the resolution recommitted to the Business Committee.

Moved that when we adjourn, we adjourn to meet to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock, in the grove, if the weather be suitable, otherwise in the Town Hall. Adjourned.

MORNING SESSION—SECOND DAY.

The morning being pleasant, the Society assembled in the Grove. F. Douglass entertained the audience previous to the time of meeting, in showing that the highest use we can make of this day (Sunday) is to plead the cause of humanity.

A large assemblage of people being convened, the Society was called to order by the President.

The song (I am an Abolitionist) was sung by the Heightons.

Annual Report of the Executive Committee was read by Marius R. Robinson, Corresponding Secretary.

Pending a motion to accept the Report, remarks were made by F. Douglass, M. R. Robinson, B. S. Jones and Parker Pillsbury, as to who were entitled to vote in the Society.

Report accepted and adopted.

On motion, President was authorized to appoint a committee of three to audit the Treasurer's Report. That committee consists of B. Bown, Adaline Joiner, and John S. Hunter.

Committee on Nominations made their report.

Accepted and adopted.

A deeply pathetic speech was made by J. E. Jones on the horrors of Slavery, and affirming her abiding faith in the efficiency of the measures of the American A. S. Society for the final overthow of Slavery.

Business Committee reported other resolutions.

On a motion to amend the second resolution so as to designate the denomination excepted from the charge of guilt made against the churches, remarks were made by J. Barker, J. Heaton, B. S. Jones, I. Pierce and others.

Amendment prevailed.

The series relative to the churches were then unanimously adopted.

On motion of Oliver Johnson, the resolutions relative to the political parties were then taken up for discussion.

On motion, Society adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

After the singing of songs, meeting was called to order by the President.

Joseph Barker first took the stand, and read a series of resolutions, upon which he made a most effective speech, in the midst of which the rain came down in torrents. The people refused to adjourn to a house, and sung a song during the hardest part of the rain, after which Mr. Barker continued his remarks.

The resolutions offered by Joseph Barker adopted. J. Barker offered a resolution discarding the proslavery interpretation of the Bible. Moved that it be taken up for discussion. Remarks by H. C. Wright. Resolutions laid over.

Resolutions on political action then taken up—H. C. Wright made remarks in support. F. Douglass made reply, with a view to show that we may innocently support the Government and hold office under it.

On motion, adjourned to meet to-morrow, at 10 o'clock, in Friends' Meeting-house.

MORNING SESSION—THIRD DAY.

Society called to order by the President.

Resolutions on political action then taken up.

On motion of Henry C. Wright, 10 o'clock was agreed upon as the hour at which the subject of finance should be taken up.

Remarks by Allan Hisey against the resolutions before the meeting.

A point of order was discussed by several persons, after which J. W. Walker spoke in support of the resolutions.

Finance Committee called on.

On motion, Lot Holmes was appointed on that committee in place of Samuel Brooke, declined. J. Barnaby (chairman of the committee) presented the financial condition of the Society.

Barclay C. Gilbert (Free Soiler) moved that one hundred persons pledge themselves to pay five dollars a year for five years.

Frederick Douglass and Joseph Barker made effective speeches in behalf of this proposition.

Remarks were also made on the same subject by Henry Willis, of Mich., Wm. Stedman, Sojourner Truth, Rachel Trescott, and others.

Adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Convention assembled, President elect in the chair. Meeting addressed by Rachel Trescott in reference to the wrongs of the slave and exhorting to greater faithfulness.

On motion, resolved, that when we adjourn, we adjourn to meet at early candle light this evening.

Parker Pillsbury offered a resolution in reference to the former and present position of Gerrit Smith, as illustrating the seducing influence of politics. Laid on the table for the present.

Finance then taken up. Remarks by Pillsbury, Walker, Heaton, Gilbert, Marius Robinson and others.

The one hundred five dollar pledges being secured, resolutions on political action were then taken up.

Parker Pillsbury made a convincing speech in support of the resolutions.

G. P. Smith spoke against the resolutions. The vote was then taken upon their adoption and carried unanimously. Voted to take up the unfinished business at the evening session.

Adjourned till candle light.

NIGHT SESSION—THIRD DAY.

Meeting called to order by Lot Holmes, one of the Vice Presidents.

Samuel Brooke offered a resolution in reference to the influences that sustain Slavery in this country; supported it by some remarks.

The Meeting took up the following resolution:

4. Resolved, That all those notions respecting the divine authority of the Jewish and Christian scriptures, which give strength to pro-slavery churches and priesthoods, are dishonourable to God and injurious to man, and should be exposed and exploded without delay.

After a speech in its support by Joseph Barker, it was, on motion, laid on the table. Oliver Johnson made remarks on the resolution and relative to the corrupting influence of politics. By permission of the speaker, Parker Pillsbury read from the great speech of Charles Sumner, in Faneuil Hall, previous to his election, and contrasted it with his recent speech in the Senate on the resolution enquiring into the expediency of abolishing the Fugitive Slave Law. O. Johnson continued his remarks.

I. Pierce made remarks against the resolution; further discussed by Marius R. Robinson and Parker Pillsbury.

Resolutions adopted.

Good remarks were made by Sojourner Truth.

On motion of J. W. Walker, a vote of thanks was offered to the proprietors of the house, and the citizens of Salem and vicinity, for their kindness and hospitality.

Parker Pillsbury made some closing remarks, after which the Society adjourned, *sine die.*

OFFICERS FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

President—BENJAMIN BOWEN.

Vice Presidents—Lot Holmes, Col. County; Josephine Griffin, Medina; Anson Garlick, Ashtabula; Harriet Pulsifer, Geauga; William Steadman, Portage; Sarah Ernest, Hamilton; Martha J. Tilden, Cuyahoga; Thomas Chandler, Lenawee, Michigan.

Corresponding Secretary—Marius R. Robinson.

Recording Secretary—Benjamin S. Jones.

Treasurer—Joel McMillan.

Executive Committee—James Barnaby, Robert Hillis, K. G. Thomas, Sarah McMillan, David H. Hise, Lewis Morgan, Sarah Bown, Isaac Trescott, William Watson, Emily Robinson, Eliza L. Thomas.

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

RESOLUTIONS.

1, Resolved, That the word *Sin* is without meaning, if it do not in a pre-eminent degree apply to Slavery—inasmuch as there is no law of nature which it does not outrage—no command in the Decalogue which it does not violate, no principle or precept of Jesus or Jehovah which it does not set at defiance.

2. Resolved, That while thus opposed to the dictates of nature and the laws of God, it is in the American Church; only one denomination is an exception, and that one of the least of them all (New School Covenanter), and nowhere known in the Eastern States. No political profligacy in the vilest political party is any barrier to the Baptisms or Sacraments—nearly every Doctor of Divinity is a slave-breeder and slaveholder, or treats as Christians and Christian Ministers those who are—a vast majority of both Church and Ministry not only deny that Slavery is a sin and crime, but boldly preach and affirm that it is of heavenly origin, blessed of God, practised by patriarchs, hallowed by the approving seal of Jesus, and directly defended by his holy apostles; and so to be perpetuated as a most important part of God's economy, for the salvation of Africa, and the hastening of the Millennium throughout the world.

3. Resolved, That to call such a church true or needful to the world, to call such ministers and Doctors the ambassadors of Jesus, in a word to call such a religion anything but the most dangerous and deadly atheism, an utter denial of any true God, is an outrage on common sense, a monstrous misuse of language, a fraud and falsehood on the understanding of the people, which, if the doctrines of accountability and retribution be true, is periling, if not hopelessly preventing, their salvation.

4. Resolved, That we rejoice in the decline and downfall of such a religion; we are glad the records and statistics of the church show a rapid decrease in numbers and strength—That ministers and candidates for the ministry are becoming less and less—the men composing them seeking more useful, or at least less hurtful, employments—That revivals have ceased altogether, or are mainly confined to children, and to persons whose virtue and intelligence are not such as seriously to affect the community one way or another—And while thus rejoicing at the overthrow of a church so false and destructive, we will continue to labour for the establishment on its ruins of the kingdom of Peace and Purity, of Love and Liberty, until the desolations of Slavery and its kindred woes shall no longer fill our land with sorrow and mourning.

5. Resolved, That the vigorous and determined attempts on the part of the friends of American Colonisation, since the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, to revive that hand-maid of Southern Slavery, and engine of cruelty and oppression to the coloured population of the country, call loudly upon us, as the friends of impartial Freedom, for watchful and untiring zeal in exposing its infamous character, and warning and rescuing those who may become its victims from the fate to which it would consign them.

6. Resolved, That never was injustice more monstrous, or cruelty more refined, than would be that of appropriating the proceeds of the Public Lands, a large sum of which rightfully belongs to the coloured population, to the purposes of Colonisation, inasmuch as they are thereby compelled to minister to their own miseries, and with their own money to purchase the means of their own torture—and we hereby solemnly protest against the whole scheme of such appropriation, as unconstitutional, unwarrantable and unjust in the highest degree, and worthy to emanate only from a government of tyrants and slaveholders, too reckless and daring in their wickedness to be entrusted in any way with the interests of mankind.

7. Resolved, That the sin and crime of Slavery are not that it buys or conquers territory for its own extension and enlargement—though it has done both—not that it sacrifices the right of speech, the press or of locomotion, the right of trial by jury or of habeas corpus—though it has done all this without a blush—not that it seeks to subvert liberty in the North, by compelling the people to recapture and return to bondage the fugitive slaves, or pay the price of them, with other fines and imprisonment besides. But the crowning guilt consists in seizing upon man, the impress and likeness of the invisible God, disrobing him of every human, blotting out every divine attribute, quenching the spirit and the soul as far as possible in utter darkness, and then binding the body, thus imbruted, in chains, AS PROPERTY, to be driven as a beast under the scourge, whenever, wherever, and however the will or caprice, the law or the lust of irresponsible and merciless tyrants shall elect or desire. Therefore,

Resolved, That our warfare is with the slave claimant, upon the doctrine that man can ever, under any possible or conceivable circumstance, hold property in his fellow man.

9. Resolved, That we regard any voluntary governmental union or confederation with slaveholders as equally a violation of the laws of Humanity and Justice and the government of God; and hence we utterly and forever repudiate the doctrine that were the Federal Government relieved and released from any constitutional obligations on the subject, then (in the language of an eminent champion of the Free Soil Party), "*would agitation in Congress cease in regard to it—then would Congress have nothing to do with it; and, like a band of freemen, could meet and legislate for the prosperity, the improvement of mankind, for the elevation of the human race.*"

10. Resolved, That any real union in the government between slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, is a natural and physical, as well as moral impossibility; and any attempt at it, argues obtuseness either of intellect or conscience, if not of both, to a most lamentable degree. And the reason for so long continuance in a nominal Union has been, that all the States have been really slave States; and all the legislation has been for and in favour of Slavery. While at the present time, there is a degree of resistance to the encroachments of the Slave Power, and a determination manifested (mildly as yet) to demand equal regard for the rights and liberties of the Northern States, which the slaveholders and their Northern allies wisely and truly regard as fatal to the continuance of the Confederacy—so that in demanding a dissolution of the Union, we are only seeking what must come inevitably and speedily, if Slavery "*shall be wholly separated from the Federal Government,*" and Liberty at the North and Slavery at the South be alike the objects of govermental care.

11. Resolved, That no political platform yet erected, has any virtue or merit, which should tempt us from our present impregnable position, as a strictly moral and religious Anti-Slavery movement—we shall still maintain with all fidelity our doctrine of "No Union with Slaveholders"—no recognition of the right of slaveholders (as such), to life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness, much less a seat or voice in the governmental councils of any nation under heaven. And however we may rejoice at the changes in the signs of the times, as so manifest in the rejection of Daniel Webster, Millard Fillmore, and other of the meaner minions of the Slave Power, by the National Conventions to nominate candidates for the Presidency; and as further seen in the tone and tendency of the Free Soil party to advance also, in obedience to the voice of the spirit of Progress which marks the age, we shall still ever be mindful that such results are and must be dependent on our unshaken and unconquerable adherence to the most radical principles for which we are distinguished.

12. Resolved, That the great political parties of the country, with all their corruption and profligacy, have done and are doing far less to sustain Slavery, than has been and is still being done by the Pro-slavery Church; and that we must always distrust the Anti-Slavery professions, and doubt the integrity of the "Free Soil" or "Free Democratic" party, so long as many of its principal leaders and large masses of its active members remain connected with that Church, and join it in denouncing as infidels those faithful friends of the slave who testify against its abominations, and deny it the Christian character and name.

13. Resolved, That those who judge the political parties by a higher standard than they are willing to apply to the Church, and who, while they profess to repudiate Slavery, still give the right hand of *religious* fellowship to slaveholders, apologists for Slavery, and pro-slavery Whigs and Democrats, evince a lack of intelligence or a want of moral principle, which justifies us in denying to them the name of Abolitionists, and in warning the people to beware of their influence and their wiles.

14. Resolved, That we needed not the political defection and apostacy of Gerrit Smith, of New York, to convince us of the dangerous and even fatal tendency of political party action, as an element in carrying forward a Moral Reform. Still we were scarcely expecting so soon to see from as we have, a pronounciamento, in a printed circular, issued to the public, in which he says:

"Notwithstanding all the fault I have found with the platform of the Free Democracy, I nevertheless regard myself as a member of that party. It is a good party, and will rapidly grow better."

We were not expecting such a declaration from Mr. Smith, as the history of all political parties, except that to which he has of late belonged, presents one unbroken testimony that they ever grow worse and worse; and are pure only as they are small—only as they are a minority, and this step of the champion and leader of the Liberty Party, gives us most fearful assurance, that even *it* can no longer be regarded as any exception to the general rule.

15. Resolved, That American Slavery is not only a disgrace and a curse to America, but a hindrance to the triumph of liberal principles, and to the establishment of popular forms of government among the nations of the earth at large.

16. Resolved, That the advocates and upholders of American Slavery are the friends of oppression and tyranny, of wrong and cruelty in every part of the world; while the enemies of American Slavery are the friends and benefactors of the whole human race.

17. Resolved, That all those churches and priesthoods which favour Slavery, should be regarded as the enemies of mankind, and should be exterminated with the utmost possible speed: that the enemies of such churches and priesthoods are, all other things being equal, the best of men, the first of saints, the godliest ministers of the Almighty, the most religious, the most holy, the most heavenly of all God's children; while the friends and supporters of such churches and priesthoods may justly be regarded as the most ignorant, superstitious, and pitiable, and the most profane, atheistical and wicked of mankind.

18. Resolved, That it is our opinion that Slavery does not exist in this country so much because the people of the North prefer it to the freedom of its victims, but because the money power wills its existence, and by purchasing priests, politicians, and business men, exerts an influence in its favour that can be obtained in no other way.

Treasurer's Report for the year ending August 21st, 1862.

The whole amount of money received in the Treasury during the past year has been as follows:

Subscriptions to the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*,	$1,250 69
Pledges and Donations,	1,377 49
Total,	$2,628 17

During the same time there has been paid out for the various expenses of the Society as follows:

To the Editor and Publishing Agent,	$ 620 26
" Agents, Walker, $ 333 88. Selby, $ 112 88. Griffin, $ 94 03. Wright, $ 11 92.	552 71
" The Printer,	362 40
On debts due at last Anniversary, about	600 00
To Paper and Ink for *Bugle*,	329 34
Other expenses, including interest on borrowed money, postage, office rent, fuel, tax, repairing press, printing materials, hauling Tent, &c	140 24
Total,	$ 2605 08
Balance in Treasury,	23 12
Debts due by the Society are	
To John Hudson, printer,	$ 281 92
" Editor and Publishing Agent,	150 00
" William Lightfoot, borrowed money,	60 00
" Lot Holmes and others, borrowed money,	200 00

In addition to the above, there may be a small amount due our Lecturing Agents, but as they have not rendered their account, I cannot report the amount. J. McMILLAN, *Treasurer*.

SPEECH OF PARKER PILLSBURY,

AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

[Reported for the Bugle.]

On the resolutions with respect to political relations and actions, Parker Pillsbury remarked as follows:

It seems to me to be of little account to spend our time in discussing what is constitutional or unconstitutional, as long as we are agreed in one thing, that whether constitutional or not, the people are determined to have Slavery. What we wish is, to abolish Slavery at any rate; and we want to make public sentiment against it so strong, that it must fall, Constitution or no Constitution. Why is it that they cannot capture a fugitive in Syracuse as well as in New York? The answer is easy—*public opinion* says that fugitives shall not be captured there. And although Daniel Webster declared that a fugitive should be taken from that city and in the time of an Anti-Slavery Convention too, he was found to be a false prophet; for, as if there were a kind of Providential interference, a fugitive slave case occurred while the Anti-Slavery Convention was in session, but it failed because there was a power in public opinion above the law, which was stronger than the law. Go into Massachusetts and the same thing is true. So that it is not for the want of law that fugitives are not captured, but for the want of that which overrides all laws and constitutions and treads them down, namely, the public voice. So that I am not particular in this matter. Suppose all that is claimed by the friends of political Anti-Slavery with regard to the constitutionality of Slavery, should be conceded, what would they gain. They would have the decision here in their favour, but they would lack that without which they could do nothing. For it is not true that the Free Soil *Party* holds Slavery to be unconstitutional. Their platform does not declare it. Gerrit Smith laboured with all his influence to make them declare it. But they spurned the doctrine. They do not believe it; their candidates do not believe it. Hale disclaimed the doctrine in the letter he wrote just previous to the nomination. He said Slavery belonged to the States in which it exists, and that they only must deal with it there.

Now, what does it matter what my friend Douglass says about the Constitution? He is not going to execute it. The candidate for whom he labours is to do that. And you must go and convert your candidate to your doctrine of unconstitutionality. Then you may come and try and convert us. Your *President* is to execute the Constitution, and he says it is one way, and you Free Soil men another. Your President has no controversy with me, none with this Society. So that the whole is labour lost.

What if we admit that Slavery *is* unconstitutional? Hale does not admit it. And of what practical use is our admission? Now, till your party value their principles high enough to carry them to the polls, they had better not bring them here. The Free Soil party carries *our* principles there, but not theirs. You say Slavery is unconstitutional—we deny it—so that we have not to carry our principles to the polls. You will do it for us. We say Slavery is constitutional, and so does Hale. Mr. Giddings never has said it is unconstitutional. Why, in his last speech in Congress, that memorable speech, enough to immortalize him almost, he concedes the whole ground. Take your Slavery home and keep it there, says he. He does not say stay at home yourselves and repent of your robbing and kidnapping, but keep your negroes there. You may come to Congress as representatives of three-fifths of them, but keep them away, and "we will meet together as a band of freemen," to legislate for what? For the abolition of Slavery? No, but "*as a band of freemen we will legislate together for the good of mankind and the elevation of the human race.*"

Now, in the name of heaven, I demand, why do men come to us on this platform, saying that Slavery is unconstitutional, and ask us to carry their principles to the polls, when they are not doing it themselves. For the moment you concede that Slavery is on constitutional ground (and Hale does concede it), you come to our position, and confess yourselves to be what we say you are, in governmental and church alliance with those, who, when compared with Spanish bucanners, are as innocent as angels of light. I deny that the Free Soil principles as we hear them avowed here, are to be carried to the polls. Gerrit Smith tried to get the Pittsburgh Convention to adopt his principles. And if we give credit to the declaration of Mr. Douglass, we must come to the conclusion that the Pittsburgh platform says there is no Slavery in the Constitution. Whereas, the truth is, that when this doctrine was advocated there, the leading men spurned it altogether. I say, therefore, my controversy is with the candidates of the party, the men who have to *execute* the Constitution and the laws. They tell us that Slavery has a constitutional existence, and that the slaveholder must be respected, when he comes upon the Governmental platform at the National Capitol. This is my view, and I do not regard it as important to argue the question, because it is no matter what construction is put upon the Constitution by the masses of the party, if the candidate says the Constitution recognises Slavery. And our Free Soil friends have never nominated a man who is not ready to go to Washington and swear that if slaveholders will keep their slaves at home, we will never in Congress mention them. "O no, we'll never mention them." And so far as the Liberty Party is concerned, it is now struck with paralysis for the third time I think, and as I believe the third shock is always fatal, I suppose there is nothing further to do with that party but to provide for its burial.

I have ever found that in proportion as men learn to rely upon political instrumentalities, just in that proportion they lose faith in that higher and stronger instrumentality (the right arm of God), moral agitation. Now I wonder if our good Free Soil friends wish to see the position and action of this Society changed. Would you see the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, with the name of Hale and Julian blazing at its head, and its editor blowing a blast in favour of their election? Would you see this Society establish itself on the Pittsburgh platform, and become a part of that party which is made up of men of all kinds of principles, and men of no principles, for I undertake to say that a man who retains his connection with the pro-slavery church of his country (as many of the Free Soil party do) has no principle whatever. Talk not to me of the principle of that man who votes professedly against Slavery, but who yesterday was eating the sacramental bread and drinking the consecrated wine at the altar of a pro-slavery Church. Spurning them at the polls, and welcoming them at the table of the Lord. And it is not too much to say, that this very hour, the breath in the nostrils of the Free Soil party is dependent upon the will of such a church. And, as I said, just in proportion as men depend upon political action they lose faith in moral instrumentalities.

Does this congregation ask, why do you not vote? I suppose it is with us as with all other associations of men. We have men who can always appreciate our principles, and whose strength is equal to their day, though some fall away. But if there are those who have grace and virtue to stand by those principles, and refrain from voting, the reason is this. Mr. Giddings gave the reason in his speech to which I have referred, as well as I can. We do not vote because we cannot go to Washington and give the right hand of political fellowship to the slave-drivers and slave-breeders of the South. We cannot say as he said, if you will only keep your slaves at home, if you will only confine your slave auctions to the States where Slavery exists, and not let the sound of the auctioneer's hammer fall upon our ears, if you will listen only yourselves to the wail of mothers robbed of their babes, and not compel us into your damning work, only separate the Federal Government from deeds so foul, so much blacker than hell, and so help me God, I will be silent on the Governmental platform. I will hail you as a "*band of freemen, and together we will legislate for the good of mankind and the elevation of the human race.*"

In the name of the holy God, would you ask me to do that? Would you hear the editor of the *Bugle* blowing so horrible a blast as that? Hell itself would cease its howlings, to listen to a music so much more horrible. [Mr. Heaton inquired if the Federal Government should be separated from Slavery, it would then exist in the States?] That is not the question. It is a *fact that it now* exists in them, and while it exists, I hope we shall not be called upon to do such a deed as I have described, and as Mr. Giddings says he would do. I do not know but such a thing would *sometime* happen, as friend Heaton refers to, but one thing I do know, and that is, that if slave territory be all that is wanted to perpetuate the institution, they have laid in a pretty good stock. And judging the future by the past, as many years would go by before such a result would occur, as friend H. supposes, as have gone by since the establishment of the Constitution. Mr. Giddings knows that the Constitution allows slaveholders to sit in the National councils, and the simple question is this, would the Free Soil party have us occupy similar ground.

How does the slaveholders regard him. When Mr. Giddings stands there and utters those terrible words of invective; when he says so justly, "he would rather every slaveholder were hanged, than that the North pay for fugitive slaves," how does the slaveholder regard him. He only points him to the words of the Constitution which he himself recognises, and to the force of his denunciations, it is as the hand-writing upon the wall of the Assyrian Monarch, "Thou too art weighed in the balance and found wanting"—and as he bows his head in recognition of those terrible Constitutional obligations, methinks I can hear the South exclaim in the words of the Judean poet, "O Lucifer sun of the morning, how art thou fallen, how art thou cast down from heaven and become like one of us." He welcomes the slaveholder with all his crimes to the Governmental platform. This is the price he pays for union. I would not pay it for union with all the angels of heaven—much less with such base society as the South. No, if my soul's salvation were suspended on this, I would spurn the condition and create and countenance rebellion against the Gods.

Now whose moral agitation is likely to be most effectual against the slaveholder, that of the man who swears to support the Constitution as it is, or that of him who stands outside of the Government, and says to him, I would like to welcome you to a republican government, and work with you, but you must come with cleaner hands. My own opinion is, that our agitation is most powerful, is *all powerful*, and yours no power at all.

You cannot work against intemperance half as well after you have associated with the drunkard and become yourself half drunk, as before. God knows I long to be a citizen of this country, but I cannot in conscience do so. I have no political ambition, but I would gladly go to the polls if I could and elect good rulers in a good government. I intend at least to be as conscientious as Catholic Ireland, that refused to be represented in Parliament for a hundred years, because her representatives could not take the requisite oaths under the Government. It is not because we are non-resistants that we refuse to vote, I would to God I were a non-resistant if I ought to be, and I fear I ought; but this is not the reason I do not vote, but because I cannot as Mr. Giddings does, say to the slaveholder, we will come together and legislate on tariffs, currencies and improvements of harbours, and mending of rivers.

Let us take care of the men first. Then these minor matters can have their place. This we are trying to do, and the Free Soil party had far better let us alone in our work. Be careful of the little of conscience there is left in the nation. It may take all our conscience, and perhaps your compromises also, to overthrow the slave system by which we are cursed.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

†‡† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1852.

MR. SUMNER AND HIS SPEECH.

MR. SUMNER'S Speech, which we gave last week at large, has been received with a unanimity of approbation, qualified only with disapprobation that is the best of praise, seldom awarded to any parliamentary effort. The apprehensions which his truest friends felt, lest the session might pass away and he have made no sign, have been happily disappointed. No one can help admiring the rhetorical perfectness of this Oration, and its comprehensive, not to say exhaustive, treatment of the subject. Though certainly not superior to Mr. Rantoul's Speeches at Lynn, and his last words in Congress, as a lawyerlike exposition of the unconstitutionality of the Fugitive Act, and as certainly inferior to Mr. Mann's late speech in fiery eloquence that illuminates while it scorches, and seems enough to make the very stones to rise and mutiny; still, in its entirety, it is entitled to take its place among the foremost productions of parliamentary eloquence. We were among those who feared, especially after he was refused permission to bring in his Bill, that he had waited until the golden opportunity had escaped from his grasp; and we are sure that there is no one among the warmest of his personal friends that is more truly rejoiced at the brilliant manner in which he has disappointed both friends and foes. We have, moreover, the most satisfactory reasons to believe that Mr. Sumner's determination to be heard on this subject was fixed and resolute, at any hazard of public inconvenience, and that his silence under the attacks of Clemens and his tribe, which was naturally open to an unfavourable construction, was an unwilling part of the policy he had adopted to make his hearing sure, or at least to give his opponents no unnecessary grounds of objection.

We have always, from the beginning, been fully convinced of Mr. Sumner's determination to do his duty in this matter, and were content to let him take his own time, and his own way, for doing it. though it might not be our way. We are still satisfied that our way would have been the best, and are more than ever satisfied that his delay was a mistake in judgment. But he had as perfect a right to form and carry out his own plan as we have to criticize it. Criticism is the essence of Anti-Slavery. It is "nothing if not critical." The Abolitionists sit in judgment upon Slavery, its abettors, and its assailants, and the ordeal to which they have subjected Mr. Sumner is no more than Mr. Adams, Mr. Giddings, Mr. Mann, Mr. Allen, Mr. Hale, and every Anti-Slavery member of Congress has had to pass through, as well as the Calhouns, Clays, and Websters. We are censorious, if you please; but it is with the censuring eyes of an intelligent slave looking on what is done for or against him. We have to judge of the state of facts as they appear before us when they occur, and we do affirm, that no men in the world are more candid and dispassionate in their judgment, or more ready to rectify an error when they discover it. And with reason good. For they have no self-ends to answer, and it is neither their object nor their wish to injure the influence or the character of any man willing to help the Slave in any degree. But their whole strength and efficiency lies in the plainness and fidelity of their speech towards friends and foes.

It is of small consequence to Mr. Sumner or the world what our ideas as to his best course are; but, still, we are disposed to favour both the one and the other with them. We apprehend that Mr. Sumner's plan was to secure his position among his fellow-senators so as to leave them, as gentlemen as well as public men, without excuse if they refused to hear him. He wished to show that he was not a man of One Idea, and, by assiduous attention to public business and a careful observance of all public and private courtesies, to secure a hearing on this particular matter. We think that this was a mistaken policy. They would, very possibly, have been willing to compound for a quiet session of eight months by consenting to a speech against the Fugitive Law at the end of it, it they could have done it without damaging themselves. But the *animus* that informed them is evident from the *yeas* and *nays* on his first motion for leave to bring in. Nothing but the palpable and notorious opportunity which the Friends of the Law themselves gave him, or some equally unmistakeable case of right, we believe, would have sufficed to get him a hearing. That such a body of unscrupulous politicians as the majority of the Senate would have regarded any of the claims of courtesy or decency on an occasion which would give rise to a pro-slavery clamour, we regard as a political and moral impossibility. We think, therefore, that nothing was gained in this direction by the delay, while very much was lost. Mr. Sumner, of course, differs from us in this opinion, and it was his judgment and not ours that he was to take for his guide. But we "who sit by the fire will talk of what's done in the Capitol." It is our prerogative and one which we do not mean to lose by our own *laches*.

The only advantage that we can imagine, at this stage of time, in having a Free Soil or Anti-Slavery man in either branch of Congress, consists in the amount of Agitation he can create there, and by that means throughout the country. Any actual and immediate change in the public policy no one expects could be accomplished, though all the orators of "Athens and free Rome" should rise from the dead to urge it. Such a change of policy is only to be achieved by a change of heart and mind in the people themselves, and the means of grace appointed for such conversion consist in importunate and untiring Agitation. It was by the use of such means that Mr. Sumner and his small band of Free Soil companions have been placed in Congress. It is by the continued use of such that fresh labourers are to be sent into that field, and the harvest to be hastened. Now, it is our belief that if Mr. Sumner had asked leave to bring in his bill for the Repeal of the Abominable Bill within a fortnight after taking his seat, and had continued to carry on a running fight, throughout the entire session, with the ability he has to make it effective, he would have put the general mind in a better and forwarded state of preparation that he has now done, for making that unmistakeable demand to which alone politicians listen.

It is very possible, indeed, that he might have aroused such a spirit of hostility in the Senate that effectual means would have been devised to prevent his making his Speech on that floor. But this, we conceive, would have been of very inferior importance to the continual reminder of the public mind, compelled by repeated attempts and reiterated protests against the tyranny that gagged him, of the paramount despotism which would enter into the most secret chambers of imagery and strangle thought and feeling, if it could, to make its own tyranny the more secure. For it will be remembered, that the despotic power of Congress has not, as yet, laid hold of the press. The Senate could have shut their own ears to his words, but they could not have silenced the ten thousand trumpet-tongues of the press. Mr. Sumner's Speech is having a wide circulation, perhaps the widest any Speech ever had in this country; but we strongly incline to the belief that its diffusion would have been even greater than it is had it been announced as the Speech which the Senate would not suffer him to make. Especially had it come immediately after such a session of Agitation as John Quincy Adams knew how to keep alive in the other House. It seems to us that the actual delivery of a Speech, however admirable, in the ears of four or five hundred people, more or less, is very subordinate in importance to the stirring up of twenty millions for eight consecutive months.

When we began this article, we did not propose to fill half a paragraph with what has now devoured the whole of it. We have some remarks to make on the *gist* of the Speech itself, for which our readers must wait till a more convenient season.—E. Q.

IN giving up so large a space in our paper, for the last two weeks, to the Speeches of Charles Sumner and Horace Mann, we are necessarily behindhand in editorial commentary upon passing events. Among other things omitted, is the division in the Liberty Party in this State—there is nothing, philosophers say, so small that it can not be subdivided—which, at its late Convention separated into two factions, one leaning towards a support of the Pittsburgh nominations, and the other nominating a separate ticket, consisting of Wm. Goodell and C. C. Foote. Both these gentlemen, it is to be presumed, are certain of, at least, one vote—that of each for the other—but how far beyond them the party lines extend, we are not informed.

But the other wing of the Liberty Party, it seems, have not settled down on so firm a basis as that on which Messrs. Goodell and Foote have fixed themselves. Their support of the Pittsburgh ticket was to depend upon a contingency, as they were not disposed to part with their political stock in trade without an equivalent. The example given in distinguished quarters, of lubricating the platform that the candidates thereon might be swallowed the easier, these impracticable politicians were not disposed to follow. They said, like the soldier so well known to the readers of Joe Miller, that "they had caught a Tartar;" and it was only necessary to induce the Tartar to acknowledge himself caught. As he seems not inclined to do this, they are inclined to back out of the strong arms into which they rushed so hastily. Whether they can do this, is now the question. It is certain they can not bring along their Tartar; it is not certain they can come along without him. In another column may be found the letter of Mr. Hale, accepting the Pittsburg nomination, in which he announces his intention of answering no questions. That letter gives the more force to the following circular which has reached us within a day or two:

SEPTEMBER, 15th, 1852.

To the Liberty Party:

The undersigned, in discharging one of their duties as your Committee, did, on the 3d instant, send to Hon. John P. Hale a letter, of which the following is a copy. A like letter, save the change in the name of the person and, also, of the office, to which he is nominated, they sent, at the same time, to Hon. George W. Julian.

"CANASTOTA, Sept. 2d, 1852.

"HON. JOHN P. HALE—*Dear Sir:* The National Convention of the Liberty Party has, this day, appointed a Committee consisting of ourselves. One of our duties is to inquire:

"1st. Whether you believe that Civil Government is instituted for the purpose of maintaining all the political rights of all its subjects, male or female, black or white; and therefore, that every political party is to regard itself as organized for the purpose of securing this equal justice at the hands of Civil Government?

"2d. Whether you believe that Slavery, so far from being capable of legalization, is a naked piracy, around which there can be no possible legal covering; a matchless crime and fraud, to which no Constitution, nor Legislature, nor Judiciary can afford the least possible shelter?

"We had expected that, long ere this time, you would, in the terms of your acceptance of your nomination to the Presidency of the United States, have made so explicit an avowal of your political creed, as to render any inquiries into the character of that creed quite superfluous. So far, however, is this expectation from being fulfilled, that we are not yet aware that you have accepted the nomination.

"Permit us to express the hope that you will favour us with an early answer, directed to Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, Madison Co., N. Y.

"GERRIT SMITH,
STILLMAN SPOONER,
ABRAM PRYNE,
WASHINGTON STICKNEY,
B. F. REMINGTON."

No answer has been received from either of the gentlemen; and, hence, it is our duty to call another Convention of the Liberty Party for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. It will be held in the City of Syracuse, on Thursday, the last day of the present month, and will begin its Sessions at 9 A. M. We are constrained to call this Convention, not because we entertain unfavourable opinions of Mr. Hale and Mr Julian—for we honour and love them. They are wise and good men; and are hearty Abolitionists; and the greater their vote, the greater will be our joy. We are constrained to call the Convention because the Liberty Party is unwilling to vote for any candidate, for any office, who is not openly and distinctly with it on the great questions submitted to Mr. Hale and Mr. Julian. We do not expect to see a large Convention: for the Liberty Party, though, as we trust, of some value as an educator of the public mind, is, nevertheless, in point of numbers, quite insignificant.

We have appointed the Convention to be held the 30th day of September, to the end that those who shall attend it, may, also, attend the Celebration of the Anniversary of the Rescue of Jerry. That Celebration will take place in the same City, the following day; and as it will be the Celebration of one of the most important and honourable events in the history of American liberty, it will, doubtless, be attended by vast numbers of true-hearted men and women.

The undersigned take the Liberty to suggest that the persons attending the Convention from the State of New York do, at the close of it, nominate State Officers, so far as the nominations of such Officers by the Free Democracy may prove to be unsatisfactory. It is very desirable that none of them should prove to be unsatisfactory, inasmuch as every thing is desirable which shall hasten the day, when the Liberty Party can, without surrendering any of its great principles, identify itself with, and merge itself in, the Free Democracy. That day will have come when the Free Democracy has clearly and certainly espoused those principles. The Liberty Party, much as it is attached to its name and organization, will, notwithstanding, hold itself ever ready to give up both. But, we trust that it will never be ready to give up its principles. A wrong nomination, made in the name of the Free Democracy, or even a wrong platform, built in its name, will not have the effect to hold us back from uniting ourselves with the Free Democracy, provided we believe that the masses of its members are sound in their political creed. Nevertheless, such errors, especially if repeated, must make us slower to confide in those masses.

GERRIT SMITH,
STILLMAN SPOONER,
ABRAM PRYNE,
WASHINGTON STICKNEY,
B. F. REMINGTON.

To a perfect understanding of this Circular, it is necessary to read the Resolutions adopted by the recent Convention of the party, at Canastota. They were as follows:

1. Resolved, That we rejoice in the hope that the principles of the Free Democracy are substantially the principles of the Liberty Party.

2. Resolved, That, notwithstanding there is much more truth than untruth, much more to welcome and praise than to regret and condemn, in the Pittsburgh platform; we, nevertheless, regard it as representing not the masses of the Free Democracy, but the cautious and conservative handful who fear that damage may come from the unrestrained utterances and bold measures of the generous, incalculating and radical masses.

3. Resolved, That the Free Democracy should lose no time to purge its platform (which, indeed, is not its platform) of all concessions to Slavery.

4. Resolved, That with our faith in the Free Democracy, and with our pleasure in the advances which the Pittsburgh platform makes towards the true platform, it would be ungenerous and unwise for the Liberty Party to array itself, at this time, against the Free Democracy.

5. Resolved, That the Liberty Party will support the nominations of the Free Democracy, as far as they can conscientiously do so; and that they will nominate for themselves, in all cases where the candidates are such as they cannot conscientiously vote for.

7, Resolved, That no man, instructed in the principles, and imbued with the spirit, of the Liberty Party, can consent to vote for a candidate who either admits the possibility of legalizing Slavery, or who does not acknowledge the obligation of maintaining all the political rights of all men, black or white, male or female.

7. Resolved, That we do not disband the Liberty Party, and will not disband it, provided the Free Democracy shall fail to make its platform declare distinctly and fully, as does the platform of the Liberty Party, that neither Slavery nor any other form of piracy can be legalized; and that the duty of every political party is to maintain all the political rights of all persons and to be as comprehensive in its objects as is righteous civil government.

8. Resolved, That the following persons constitute the National Committee of the Liberty Party for the coming year; and they have power to call the party together, at such time and place, either before or after the coming election, as they shall think proper, viz., Gerrit Smith, Abram Pryne, Stillman Spooner, B. F Remington, Washington Stickney.

9. Whereas, the very large Anti-Slavery meeting held one week ago, in the County of Madison, and State of New York, determined to interpret the Pittsburgh platform in the light of its general principles and declarations, and not in the light of its specifications, which contradict those principles and declarations; and, whereas, we approve of that determination,

Resolved, therefore, That we commend to all the friends of freedom, and of just civil government, the three following resolutions, which were passed by said Anti-Slavery meeting, viz.:

1. Resolved, That the Free Democracy, in declaring that government is "to secure all" the rights of all, acknowledges not only that government is instituted for the purpose of maintaining all the political rights of all its subjects, male or female, black or white, but that the Free Democracy is organized for the purpose of obtaining this equal justice at the hands of government.

2. Resolved, That the Free Democracy, in denying that there can be "valid legislation" for Slavery, means that Slavery is a naked piracy, around which there can be no possible legal covering—a hideous monster, to which not the Constitution, nor the Legislature, nor the Judiciary, can find the least possible shelter.

3. Resolved, That the Free Democracy, in denying that there can be "valid legislation" for Slavery, justifies the rescue of Jerry, at Syracuse, and honours the thousands who, on that occasion, held that slave laws are sham laws, and no laws.

These were adopted by a vote of two to one, the Convention having previously rejected another report from the Business Committee, which, while it rejoiced that the Free Democracy had arrayed itself against the usurpations of the slave power, and hoped that it might be led to occupy such a position that the Liberty Party would find it consistent to disband and co-operate with it, yet was compelled to conclude that that time had not yet arrived. But the majority, as the above resolutions show, thought otherwise, and so, with a peradventure, went over to the Free Democracy. The members of the party went home congratulating themselves, doubtless, that they had caught their Tartar; the next thing was to bring him along; and soon after, the organ, *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, run up the "fustian flag" with the names of Hale and Julian as the candidates of its choice.

But the Tartar, it seems, will not come along; will those who caught him come along without him? The Circular we publish above is the call to them to do so, but whether it will be obeyed is the thing to be seen. The minority of the Canastota Convention went off with Mr. Goodell. The majority, we fear Mr. Gerrit Smith will find, have lost themselves in the crowd of the Free Democracy, and will turn up missing at the Syracuse Convention. Mr. Douglass thinks it proper to say, in his paper, that the names of Hale and Julian were placed at the head of its columns without the advice of Mr. Smith; this, we take it, is an intimation that his advice will not remove them, and therein, probably, he will be supported by the 66 who voted for the report adopted at Canastota. Even Mr. Goodell, with his corporal's guard, may not be inclined to step back into the ranks, after having enjoyed the honour of a Presidential nomination. Mr. Smith, at Syracuse—begging his pardon for making the comparison—will exclaim, like Daniel Webster at Faneuil Hall, "Where shall I go?"

THE COVENANTERS.—On the first page of this week's *Standard* may be found the report of the recent Annual Meeting of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, the publication of which, for want of room, we have been compelled to defer till this time. There is in it, according to a correspondent of the *Pa. Freeman*—N. R. Johnston—one mistake, which those who read it should bear in mind. The recent resolution, says Mr. Johnston, reads thus:

"That while opposed to the dictates of nature, and the law of God, it (Slavery) is in the American Church; only one denomination is an exception, and that one of the least of them all (New School Covenanter), and nowhere known in the Eastern States," &c.

Here, he says, are too declarations, both of which are incorrect. The first is in the title given to Anti-Slavery Covenanters. The new School Covenanters, he explains, "swear oaths of allegiance to the United States Government, vote and hold office under the Constitution, and are implicated in Slavery in common with those other churches that do not fellowship the slaveholder. The exception should have been *Old School* Covenanters, or Reformed Presbyterians. That church, which has been organized since the Revolution, but which never became as large as some other denominations, mainly because of her position on Slavery, has, from her first organisation, prohibited her members from incorporating with the Government by voting, holding office, &c., and has held the same position, on that point, that the old organization of the Anti-Slavery Society now holds. No slaveholder has been, or is, allowed membership in her—even the apologist of Slavery is disciplined. *New* School Covenanters, mentioned in the resolution, are an organization that broke off from the Church in 1833, on account of her position as above stated. They would feel themselves slandered by the charge that they held the position of the Society that adopted the resolution in question. The Reformed Presbyterian Church (*Old* School Covenanters) occupied the position of the old organization—'no union with slaveholders'—long before the existence of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and long before there was any agitation of the Slavery question."

The other incorrect statement, Mr. Johnston says, is that the Anti-Slavery Presbyterians, or Covenanters, are "nowhere known in the Eastern States" "The writer of this article" he adds, "is himself connected with a congregation of these unknown Covenanters in Vermont, and there are three other congregations of the same church, in the same region or vicinity. The pastors of these congregations are not 'dumb dogs.' They are agitators—have been, and intend to be. Ministers of our church were instrumental in the organization of many Anti-Slavery Societies in New England, very early in the reform. They and the church did much to create that Anti-Slavery sentiment which is now embodied in the old organization.',

☞ We are requested by our esteemed correspondent to whom we are indebted for the interesting biographical sketch of the late Judge Lowell, which appeared in the *Standard* a few weeks since, to add the following facts, which had, at that time, escaped his memory, but which are no less worthy than the others of record:

"It serves to show the estimation in which his tal ents and poetry were held at a very early period of his life, that he was selected, while an under-graduate at Harvard College, and only 15 years old, as one of the writers in a work issued by the College ("Gratulatio et pietas") on the death of George II. and the accession of George III. It was very favourably received in England. The other writers were graduates of considerable standing, among them Professor Sewall, one of the most learned Professors the College has ever had, James (Governor) Bowdoin, and others. Lowell's articles were in English, and, I believe, in Greek or Latin verse. He was Senator for Suffolk County, and chosen, by one branch of the Legislature, Senator in Congress; was solicited to stand as a candidate for the office of Governor of Massachusetts, when his party (the Federal) were predominant, but declined; the person recommended by him to the committee was chosen. He was one of the Commissioners for settling the question between Massachusetts and New York relative to the proprietorship of 600,000 acres of land in the Western part of New York. His zeal for his clients, and great eloquence, caused him to be employed in all the great causes when he practised at the bar, in almost all, if not all, the capital cases. In prize cases, he filed more than 1,200 libels. Among his students were the late Chistopher Gore and H. G. Otis. Mr. Otis, in a letter to Dr. L., published two or three years ago, says: 'You require me to furnish you with some recollections of your honoured father, and my master. Had that excellent person been a native of Virginia, you would have no occasion for such an application. His life would have been written and emblazoned by pens qualified to eulogize departed worth and talents, and his name classed with those of her Henrys and Marshalls, and Wyeths, and other eminent lawyers,' &c. &c."

KIDNAPPING AT NORFOLK.—A man by the name of William Allen, from Kingston, Jamaica, and a seaman on board the British Schooner Medway, was kidnapped and sold as a slave in Norfolk, Va., on the 14th inst. The kidnapper, a scoundrel by the name of Brown, from Rappahannock, has since been arrested, and confessed his guilt. He asserts that the Captain of the Schooner was concerned with him, and was to receive part of the money.

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS.—There are no less than six nominees for the Presidency, and, as an American is considered as nobody unless voting, it is hard if everybody shall not be somebody at the ensuing election. The names of the aspirants are as follows:

General Pierce,	Democrat.
General Scott,	Whig
Daniel Webster,	Union Whig.
J. P. Hale,	Free Soiler.
William Goodell,	Liberty man.
Governor Troupe,	Secessionist.

MISS HOLLEY.—The *Pennsylvania Freeman*, of last week, announces that Miss Holley has accepted an invitation to lecture in that State. She will commence about the middle of October, and continue in Pennsylvania, the *Freeman* intimates, for several months. From what we have heard of her, we have no doubt that she will make herself particularly acceptable to the Abolitionists of that region.

THE *Rochester Democrat* says that, at the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in session, last week, in that city, the Committee on Slavery made an able and somewhat lengthy report. It condemned the Fugitive Slave Law in the strongest terms, asserting that the slave was not a slave by God's appointing. The report was adopted after some debate, and ordered to be printed.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society is to be held in the fourth week of the ensuing month.

THE FREE SOIL PARTY of Massachusetts have nominated Horace Mann for Governor, and Amasa Walker for Lieutenant Governor.

Domestic Correspondence.

LETTER FROM PARKER PILLSBURY.

JEFFERSON, Ashtabula County, Ohio, September 15, 1852.

DEAR FRIEND GAY: In my last, there was an allusion to the thrilling eloquence of Frederick Douglass, at the Anniversary Meetings of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, "when he soared above the mists and *murks* of politics." Your types say *musks*, instead of murks. Those who are not blest as well with the sense of sight as with some others, perhaps would accept your amendment of my rhetoric. I incline myself to the original.

I am just now returned from a large gathering of the "Friends of Freedom of all Parties," held in the village of Linesville, a few miles west of Meadville, Pennsylvania. The meeting was got up by a Call, numerously signed—Free Soil men, of all types, and Disunionists together. J. R. Giddings and other eminent champions of Free Soil were announced by their friends to be among the speakers. When the weather permitted, we met in a splendid wood, well fitted for the purpose. Two better days than Friday and Saturday were, not even your fastidious Boston Correspondent could desire, and we improved them well; and we had crowded meetings in a capacious hall near by, on each of the evenings, besides. On Sunday, the closing day, the weather kept us in the Hall; but it was a day which will not soon be forgotten by the inhabitants of that remote, though populous, region.

All day on Friday, we waited for the invited speakers of the Free Soil wing of the meeting, but they did not appear; so we of the Old School had everything our own way. Still the exercises were such as that all present seemed to mingle in them, even the most radical, with the deepest interest.

Saturday morning came, but brought no new speakers. Our Free Soil friends were sorely disappointed. They said the fullest assurance had been given them that Mr. Giddings and two or three other distinguished champions of their own selection would be on the ground. A great many had come from long distances

to see and hear them, and took their disappointment with a becoming ill grace.

The subject of political Anti-Slavery was, however, introduced, and eloquently defended, by our excellent friend, Rev. James Freeman Clarke, formerly of Boston, but now of Meadville, twelve miles from the place of the meeting. Though disclaiming any real connexion with the party of Free Soil, still it could have hardly been better or more ably represented by any of its selected orators and advocates. He introduced a series of Resolutions, supporting the Pittsburgh platform and nominees, and occupied nearly the whole of Saturday forenoon in their advocacy. His address was listened to with deep and deserved attention. It was beautifully enriched with historical allusions, and ornamented with the lively and varied imagery for which he is distinguished. Politics never appeared in better dress.

In the afternoon, I spoke for an hour on the degradation and depravity of the government in the hands of the old parties, and was listened to with every sign of approval by the multitude of Free Soil men present. They said it was a good Free Soil speech.

Late in the afternoon of Saturday, we presented, for the first time, our own distinctive position in the Anti-Slavery conflict. A series of resolutions was presented, in connexion with which I was proceeding to show why we Disunionists cannot support the present Union and Government, when suddenly I was asked to give way a moment. It was just at a time when every ear was open, and the words of truth were evidently sinking deep into many honest hearts. As soon as I ceased speaking, a motion was made, with great emphasis, that "*we do now give three cheers for Hale and Julian, and adjourn sine die.*"

This step, though concocted by high Free Soil authority, was received with a burst of indignation from every part of a large audience, seven-eighths of whom probably were friendly to the party. This firebrand was very soon extinguished, and the arrangements were immediately concluded for the meeting that evening and all the following day—Sunday. You know I am not penetrated deeply with love to that party; but you may be sure that here in the West it means more than mere spite to our moral movement, and support of pro-slavery religion and priests, as is so common in many places. And so this insolent motion to adjourn was thus summarily and severely rebuked. It was made by a narrow-minded and bigoted Baptist.

Altogether, the meeting was one in which you would have taken great delight. I never saw a presentation of our doctrines listened to with more apparent interest, or treated with more respect.

The hospitality of the people was above all praise, and the pressing invitations to visit them again gave assurance that the occasion had not been labour lost. Several young gentlemen from the Meadville Institution were present, and added greatly, by their forcible and well-timed remarks, to the interest of the meetings. They ought at once to throw themselves, with their fine talents and voices, into the Anti-Slavery warfare. It would complete their education in the right way.

The Resolutions relating to the Church, defended by Samuel Myers of Ohio, John F. Selby of Pennsylvania, and myself, were generally approved in the meeting. Those presented on the subject of the Government enlisted the liveliest discussion.

The subject of a *New Northern Republic* would awaken more attention among the masses of the people, North and West, could it be fairly brought before them, than any other which has stirred them since the Revolution. Why we of the Disunion faith are not more alive to it, some of us cannot imagine. Non-Resistants may have good reasons for silence on the subject of forming any government of physical force. But why should not every voting man demand, with the Dissolution of this Union, *a new Northern Confederation*, which should become, indeed, what the present Union is but in name? Two years ago, we agitated the question in a grand gathering of the young people of the West, held in Berlin, in this State; but we met with no response from any other quarter; while every time the idea was advanced hereabouts, it seemed to thrill through the public mind, as though Divinity had inspired and impelled it.

But pardon me this once for an unpardonably long article. I will give you the Disunion Resolutions of the Linesville Convention, and close.

Whereas, the Government of this country is a confederation with robbers and pirates of the most atrocious character; and whereas, by the terms of the Government, these robbers and pirates are permitted to hold slaves in half the national domain, and to hunt and seize them, alive or dead, on the whole of it; and whereas, they are secured the right to be represented in the national Congress by three-fifths of their human chattels; and whereas, by the vote of the Senate, the veto power of the President, and the rulings and decisions of the Supreme Court (to say nothing of direct constitutional guaranties), they are secure against any efficient action from the Government upon Slavery; and whereas, they have now additional slave territory, whereon to feed and fatten the system, as well for at least a century to come as for the century past; and whereas, such an alliance for any purpose, even though the Federal Government were exempt as far as possible from any interference with Slavery whatever, is a great and gross immorality, a violation of the "Higher Law" in every one of its provisions, an outrage upon Justice, a crime against Humanity, and a sin against God; therefore,

Resolved, That this Government should cease at once to exist; the Confederation should be annulled; the Union should be dissolved, as a "consent with thieves and adulterers," a "covenant with death," an agreement with Hell.

Resolved, That we can owe no allegiance to such a Government; and we do hereby solemnly abjure it, in the name of Justice and Liberty, and in obedience to the Higher Law of Him who rules supreme among the nations. And

Resolved, That we will seek and demand a *New Northern Republic*, sacred to Free Soil and Free Speech, Free Labour and Free Men, where equal and impartial Liberty shall be the birthright of all—where the opprest of all nations may find a secure asylum—and where, under a wise and virtuous government, the full millennium of national blessings shall be established, enjoyed and made perpetual.

I hope you, or some of your able correspondents, will enlighten us upon the positions of this preamble and resolves. It may save some of us from making ourselves ridiculous before the world, by advocating what you can show to be *an utter impracticability*, or perhaps something far worse.

Ever truly, yours, PARKER PILLSBURY.

LETTER FROM G. B. STEBBINS.

BELFAST, Alleghany Co., New York. September, 16th, 1852.

S. H. GAY—*Dear Sir:* This is the third Presidential election I have been a spectator of in this State—the great battle-field of politics, of which men are wont to say, "as goes the Empire State, so goes the national contest." In the two preceding contests there was abundance of *talk*, loud, long, and earnest; Whigs and Democrats boasting of their men and measures, proud to proclaim their adherence to both "before all Israel," to raise poles of ash or hickory, to fling their banners to the breeze where all could see them. Now there is a comparative quiet in public places; on stage, steamer rail-road car, one hears but few boasts, but little noise; no enthusiastic demonstrations; but little said of measures, *platforms*, or candidates. Some Abolitionist now and then (frequently too) frees his mind in utter condemnation of the great game of compromise—the national man-hunt, to be led off by Pierce or Scott—and none can "resist" or "discountenance" his "pestilent agitation" by a single argument, nay, can scarce raise even a sneer or get off a tirade of political Billingsgate. Honest people want to hear Anti-Slavery principles. I have good audiences at Anti-ery meetings; politicians who fear their "occupa- danger," stay away; but those who don't make politics a trade, hear and think for themselves. Prejudice, habit, education, are strong, not to be broken in a moment, sometimes not for years; while many will not vote at all, and more will support the nominees of the Pittsburgh Convention, the great multitude will still go for their old parties; they feel there is a great wrong somewhere, but are not yet clear-sighted, honest or independant enough to break long-cherished associations—the habit of following the old leaders comes up, and they fall into the rank and file, but march silently, with troubled aspect and solemn gait, as though conscious they were walking in the burial train of Freedom. Now, this is a great gain; it shows the growing power of Anti-Slavery truths; we have driven the supporters of the great pro-slavery parties to act like men ashamed of the meanness of their conduct; we have cooled—yes, extinguished—the warm enthusiasm with which *the people* went to their work of bolstering up the slave-power four and eight years ago; editors, cotton merchants, political gamblers, raise the old rallying cries, but only a faint response comes back from the multitude. It is a great thing to make men ashamed of their bad position; they will not long stay in it; a great change in actions and position, as well as feelings, must and will come. Baltimore platforms and candidates pledged to be kidnappers are the trains of powder which, when ignited by Anti-Slavery fire, shall lead us to say "'tis sport to see the engineer hoist by his own petard," the chosen weapons which shall be seized by the bold champions of Freedom, and used to smite down the traitors who forged them for a far different purpose. Slavery may triumph a while longer, *but the end is not yet;* the spell which has so long bound Northern men is slowly yet surely breaking; the signs are propitious, if Abolitionists will but be faithful and earnest, have confidence in the omnipotence of Truth, and learn to labour *and to wait for the result*, knowing that it *must come* so sure as God lives. I have spoken more especially of the feeling prevalent in Western New York; doubtless, in sections where there is less Anti-Slavery sentiment, there may be a little more noise; but as a general rule, the country over, the earnest talk, the open, loud boasts, the zealous efforts of past contests, have dwindled down into a sickly display of the glorifying of "our party"—heartless, soulless. I have been talking about Anti-Slavery for the past ten weeks, most of the time, and would like to give some particulars did space and time permit—would like to say more than can be said of a pleasant visit and interesting meetings among the lively valleys and beautiful hills of Madison County, in De Ruyter and vicinity, of a visit to McGrawville College, an institution where the rights of woman are recognised, where no proscription exists to drive the student with skin darker than the Saxon line from its walls, where Professor Allen, a coloured man, an accomplished scholar too, fills his chair with grace and ability; where a vigorous freedom of thought and discussion exists among the students, far different from the dwarfing influence so common in colleges, which grants no liberty to go aside or beyond a prescribed and narrow round, no privilege to obey the Apostolic injunction, "Prove *all things*," and thus know how to "hold fast that which is good" in all. I have been, too, among the active and earnest Abolitionists in Washington County; in the beautiful valley of the Hudson above that city of Troy, so progressive in material things—wealth, mechanism, commerce—so bound to the "dead past," in its pro-slavery politics and theology. At Union Village and Easton, I held ten meetings, and met with efficient aid from the Wilburs, Leonard Gibbs, Dr. Corliers, and others.

For the past three weeks I have been in this region of hills, forests, and valleys, of working men and women; have had fair success and a ready earnest attention.

The feeling which prevails among politicians is well shown by an incident that occurred at one of my meetings some two weeks since. A Democrat, in reply to some comments on the hypocricy of the party, volunteered a defence, and came off from the effort with small credit, having no ground, of course, on which to base an argument, and laying himself and his party open to attack; a fellow Democrat, the most leading and intelligent man of that stamp in the place, said, in private, that he was sorry his friend made the effort. "It will do him no good, *and the party harm;* I mean to go for Pierce and King; but the less said about it, the better; it is our best policy to *go the ticket and play a mum game*," were his words.

To-day I go to Rushford, the richest and one of the largest towns in the county, thence northward, hoping to be at Syracuse at the Jerry Anniversary, after stopping at Rochester. Yours, truly,

G. B. STEBBINS.

LETTER FROM G. W. F. MELLEN.

MR. GAY: I was extremely glad to see that you published the statement made by Doctor Lowell, respecting the manner in which that clause about the equality of rights, before the law came to be put into the constitution of the State of Massachusetts. This statement, if I mistake not, was called forth by an assertion made by the Hon. David Henshaw, that Slavery was undesignedly broken up in this State, and not from any predetermined purpose by those who framed the constitution. And it seemed to be the impression of a great body of our people that such was the fact.

Precisely the same impression is entertained by a great body of American citizens respecting the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of our country, that those who framed them had no reference to the slave, and did not mean to include the coloured people in the number of those who were to enjoy the privileges they meant to confer on the rest of the people.

Your readers will see that this impression is erroneous if they could get hold of the Madison Papers, or Elliot's Reports, and will take the pains to examine for themselves the reasons given for the adoption of every article, and observe how carefully every expression is weighed, and will make themselves acquainted with the opinions entertained by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Governor Morris, Gerry, Roger Sherman, Luther Martin and others, and will observe with what adroitness Madison excluded every expression that would convey the idea that there could be property in man, or that there should be any distinction in the people of this country that were to enjoy the benefits of the constitution, and the impatience of Roger Sherman to say anything on the subject after he had got the slaveholders to acknowledge that slaves were persons, as they did when they were called three-fifths of all *other persons*. It was clear in this concession, they were allowed to be represented; that they were to be enumerated as persons and not property. This fact was asserted by Mr. Davis, in the Convention of North Carolina, called for the purpose of adopting the constitution, and as quoted by me in my work, "Slavery: its Unconstitutionality," p. 263, from Elliott's Reports, vol. 3, p. 41. Mr. Iredell, in the same Convention, said, "When the certain abolition of Slavery takes place, it will be an event that will be pleasing to every generous mind and every friend of human nature." Elliott's Reports, p. 297. See my own work, p. 273. Governeur Morris, it will be observed, was a decided Abolitionist, and was ready to go home, without framing a constitution at all, when he saw the determination of the delegates from Georgia and South Carolina; but after making such expressions, he was chosen the chairman of the Committee of Style and Arrangement; and, as I have said before, after the Convention decided it would be wrong to admit the idea there could be property in man, he was bound to make all of the language of the instrument conform to this idea; and this phraseology, which, in the clause of the Constitution on the subject of representation, calling slaves three-fifths of all other persons, and the one relating to the introduction of persons to this country, "ten dollars for each *person*," and the one respecting the return of the fugitive from *services* or labour, that he should be returned to the person "to whom such service or labour may be *due*," were all so many expressions implying that those held in bondage were persons and not property; and this, after discussion, and with design, saving, so far as appears, the last. This clause, "to whom such service or labour may be *due*," came out of the hands of the Committee on style and arrangement, of whom Mr. Morris was Chairman, and Mr. Madison was a member and it will be perceived with this addition it changes the whole clause into a contract between the parties, and that the service ought to be proved to be *due* by contract between the parties. Let any disinterested person examine this clause, and the minds and feelings of the persons who managed the proceedings of the Convention, and I cannot for a moment suppose they can come to any other conclusion. Mr. Iredell says expressly, if it had not been for Georgia and South Carolina, what is called the Foreign Slave Trade would have been immediately broken up; but as it was, they gained the advantage of breaking it up in twenty years; whereas, if those two States had not come into the Union, as they refused to do, it might have been continued forever, so far as the General Government was concerned. I state these facts because it is important that a right opinion should prevail, and that now, while the American people are making up their minds what the truth is on these important subjects, they may come to the right conclusion. It will be perceived, if I am correct, the General Government can go into the States, either by a direct law of Congress, made to enforce the ideas expressed in the several provisions, or by fining or impeaching the judges if they do not enforce them; which, if they did, as the Constitution makes no distinction in the persons who were to enjoy its benefits, the most careless observer would perceive at once there could be no slaves in this country.

But so long as there is such a diversity of opinion, or, at least, so long as Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, Salmon P. Chase, and those who constructed the Buffalo platform, continue to assert that the General Government has nothing to do with Slavery in the States, it is hard work for a private individual, like myself, to be heard. Mr. Webster said some of the planks of the Buffalo platform were rotten, and I think so too. The position they all assume reminds me very much of a number of persons at a fire, when a house is burning, and a woman with her child is discovered at one of the windows, with no means of escape but through it. The crowd around hasten to raise a ladder to rescue them; but, instead of placing one end to rest on the window sill, they lean it against the wall, so that the person who ascends cannot enter for their relief, neither can those who wish to escape the devouring element reach its rounds. Did those who framed the instrument mean to have it so used? I trow not

Let me relate an anecdote. It has reference to a grandfather of mine, after whom I am named, and I can, like Dr. Lowell, feel some pride and satisfaction in the fact. The circumstance was related to me by an uncle, a son of the person of whom I speak. Soon after New Hampshire became a State, Hon. George Frost, who had been a Representative in Congress in 1778–9, was made the first Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; one of his neighbours held a slave, whom he whipped; Mr. Frost, my grandfather, caused him to be brought before him, and inquired into the cause of the whipping; he was answered, the man was his slave. Judge Frost remarked that Slavery was introduced into this country by an unconstitutional law of England; it never had any force there, and never ought to have had here; and he dismissed the man; and, so far as I know, there has been no Slavery in that State since. What was meant by this phrase, "introduced into this country by an unconstitutional law of England," I do not understand, unless it was some instructions given to Sir John Hawkins, or the same law by which political offenders were sent to this country to be enslaved, of whom Bancroft speaks; but such was the language as given to me. Mr Frost was also an intimate friend of Gov. Sullivan, and may have been cognizant to the answer returned Washington, respecting his fugitive, who had taken up her residence in New Hampshire, that the act of rendition would cause too much excitement. The same gentleman, in conjunction with Sullivan and others, soon after the battle of Bunker Hill, contrived the means by which Gov. Wentworth was induced to leave that State without causing any bloodshed. As the facts are historical, and, so far as I know, have never been published, I have thought it might be well to publish them in connection with the above. I received them from the same source as the anecdote just told.

Gov. Wentworth was what may be called an old English Gentleman, convivial in his habits, and entertained much company. He was no fighting character, but hospitable in the extreme. 'Squire Frost, with 'Squire Sullivan, and others, for this was before they had received any other title, contrived a plan by which to take Fort Independence at New Castle, at the mouth of Portsmouth Harbour. For this purpose, they employed a number of men to carry wood and vegetables, in gondolas, a large flat-bottom boat, used upon the Piscataqua, to sell to the soldiers and others at the fort; these were apparently farmers, and were well armed. In the meantime, a dinner party was got up at a Col. Prescott's, at New Castle, for the officers of the fort. During dinner hour, the men went into the fort, for the ostensible purpose of selling their cargoes, and some towards the house of Col. Prescott. At a given signal, the men in the fort drew their arms, and demanded the surrender of the fort; and, being entirely taken by surprise, it was given up to them by the men who had it in charge. The house of the Colonel was also surrounded, and the officers told they were prisoners, but were finally left to go on their parole. The next morning there was considerable stir in Portsmouth. Drums were beating to arms, and people collecting at the corners of the streets, Mr. Frost among others. In the meantime, one of the party in the secret went and informed the Governor who was concerned in the plot. Gov. Wentworth seeing Mr. Frost in the street, came out of his house, and said to Mr. Frost, in the presence of those with whom he was in company, "Judge Frost, if you do not leave the country, I shall be obliged to arrest you." Mr. Frost returned answer: "Gov. Wentworth, if you do not leave the country, I shall have to arrest *you*." The Governor, finding he was not among his political friends, returned to his house. An English man-of-war had arrived during the night, and it was feared by some what would be the result. Mr. Frost thought it was a fortunate occurrence. The Governor's house stood not far from the water, and a passage-way led from the back of it to the river's bank, where boats were accustomed to land. Cannon were placed in front of the house, and it was guarded, saving on the back part; this was left unobstructed. During the day, communications were made between the vessel and Governor; and at nightfall, it was observed, trunks and household furniture were sent from the house to the man-of-war, all of which was suffered to go on. Late in the evening, the front door of the house was thrown open, and the dining room well lighted. Upon entering, the tables were found to be spread with a rich repast, but no Governor was to be found. He had taken his plate and all the more valuable of his furniture, and gone on board of the ship, and sailed that night; since which time, no foreign foe have put their footsteps on the soil of New Hampshire. It could be wished that no domestic one in the shape of a doughface had done it

Respectfully yours, G. W. F. MELLEN.

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.—One evening last week a family of *fifteen* (fugitives, including children and grand, children), came into this village by the mail train, and stopped over night. Their fare had been paid to Dunkirk by the liberality of some friends along their route from the South. Notice was immediately given to those who eagerly embrace the opportunity of speeding on the panting fugitive, and further means raised to carry them to Canada. It was deemed prudent to send in advance to Dunkirk, lest the slave-catcher might lie in wait for his movable "chattels", and accordingly M. F. Lucas and Daniel Deming went on in the morning to guard against surprise. Providentially all was safe. The family left in the afternoon, reaching Dunkirk at night, and were soon safely housed up in one of the up-lake steamers, Mr. Lucas accompanying them. The noble captain, on reaching Detroit river, took *occasion* to wood and water at Malden, on the Canada side, thus enabling the fugitives to avoid the risk of a recapture at Detroit. Language cannot express their grateful feelings when their feet trod upon the *free soil* of Canada. The platforms of both parties seem to be of little account in this village, as Whigs, Democrats and Free Democrats joined heartily in expressing their sympathies for the flying bondsmen. The underground railroad is in fine working order—rarely does a collision occur—and once on the track, passengers are sent through between sun and sun.—*Corning Journal.*

Miscellaneous News.

CASSIUS M. CLAY is stumping the State of Kentucky in favour of Hale and Julian.

THE potato rot has made its appearance in several parts of the States of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

VEGETARIAN FESTIVAL.—The Third Annual Festival of the Vegetarian Society of the United States was held in the large hall of the Chinese Building on Wednesday evening of last week. The attendance was small.

THE boats of the Southern Michigan Railroad line on Lake Erie are to be fully furnished with large India Rubber life-preservers. They are each furnished with life ropes, and are capable of sustaining forty or fifty people.

THE Norfolk *Herald* states that at this time the number of free-born and emancipated negroes preparing to emigrate from that port to Liberia in the Fall expeditions of the Colonisation Society is two hundred and twenty-six.

THE Grand Jury of the United States District Court have found a bill of indictment for manslaughter against all the parties charged with causing the death of nearly seventy individuals, by negligence and misconduct, on board the steamboat Henry Clay.

MR. G. P. R. JAMES, the veteran romancist and clever historian, has received an appointment as Consul for Norfolk, in the United States.

A GENTLEMAN of Amherst County, Va., lately deceased, has left $6,000 for the settlement of his negroes in a free State. The heirs of the gentleman being willing that the slaves should be sent to Liberia, application is to be made at the next Supreme Court, to Judge Thompson to this effect.

THACKERAY AND THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY.—The Mercantile Library Association of this city have completed an arrangement with Mr. Thackeray, the celebrated English novelist, to deliver his course of lectures on the writers of the age of Queen Anne, before that institution during the coming winter.

THE Committee appointed by the Southern Rights Convention made a report nominating George M. Troupe, of Georgia, for President, and Gen. Quitman, of Miss., for Vice-President. After some little debate, the nominations were ratified. Electors were nominated, and the Convention adjourned.

A FEMALE fortune-teller and her husband were held to bail for $500 in Lexington, Mo., for having aided in abducting two negro slaves. The slaves had consulted the woman, and she had read from the cards that it was their "inevitable destiny" to be free—they made the attempt and were brought back.

THE *Philadelphia North American* says, Ole Bull, the great violinist, has purchased 120,000 acres of land in Potter county, Pennsylvania, for the purpose of founding thereon a colony of his Norwegian countrymen. The vanguard of the enterprise, consisting of some thirty hardy-looking men, have already arrived at Coudersport, in that county.

ON Tuesday night last, eight slaves (five men, a woman and two children), belonging to sundry citizens of Mason county, Ky., made their escape, and have not been recovered. There is strong ground of suspicion that a portion, if not all of the fugitives, fled in concert, and that they were aided by white confederates in crossing the river.

A TEXAS Whig editor, in announcing the nomination of Scott and Graham, says: "Mr. Graham is well known to the political and literary world, more especially to the literary, he having for some years back been engaged in publishing *Graham's Magazine*, which as a literary work stands unequalled in America,"

LITERATURE OF THE TAMMANY CITY FATHERS.—The following (says the *Tribune*) is an endorsement, *verbatim et literatim*, of a petition presented last evening to the Board of Assistants, and indorsed personally by Asst. Ald. Brastow, as follows:

"Pertison to have Forty First street betweene 2 Avn 3 Avns reglated and Corbed Guterd and Paved,

"Ry P. K. BRASTOW, Asst., Ald., 19th Ward."

JOINT STOCK COMPANY.—At the Anniversary, B. C, Gilbert volunteered to be one of one hundred persons, for five years to raise an annual fund in shares of $5 each. From the report of the Treasurer, which we publish to-day, it will be seen that those shares were all taken. But our charter will permit the indefinite enlargement of our capital stock. Let it be doubled or quadrupled, it can all be used to advantage. Send on your subscriptions for shares, to the Treasurer, Joel M'Millan.—*Ohio Bugle.*

A WHITE boy was arrested at Norfolk the other day, on supposition of being a runaway negro, a slave of a gentleman residing at Petersburg, Va. This ludicrous mistake was naturally enough made, from the fact that he answered the description given of the slave in question. The runaway is represented as being nearly white, and hard to distinguish from a white man, and as the boy who was arrested is nearly white (being a fisherman, he is considerably tanned by the sun, and was somewhat spotted with smoke and dirt), and answering the published description, the officers made sure of a prize. They missed it, however. The boy proved his whiteness by washing his face, and he was accordingly discharged by the Mayor.

THE JAPAN EXPEDITION NOT ABANDONED.—We are privately informed from Washington, that as soon as Commodore Perry shall have enlightened the President fully concerning the real state of things at the fishing grounds, including those balls and parties at Halifax and other places, he will resume active preparations for the expedition to Japan. We are glad to hear it—glad that the proposed hydrographic survey of Japan is not turned over to the Dutch—glad that the heathen of those islands are not to be abandoned. In these days, nothing but bombshells and bayonets will reclaim the pagans of Japan. Let the gallant Commodore hurry up the good work. Brethren, let us pray.—*Herald.*

A WRITER in the *New Englander*, after a careful investigation of the subject—"The Sources of our Population"—gives the following table as the result of his studies:

Population of the United States in 1850			23,263,498
Anglo-Saxon by birth or blood			15,000,000
African	do	do	3,594,762
Irish	do	do	2,269,000
German	do	do	1,900,000
French, &c.,	do	do	499,736
Whole number of immigrants from all countries, between 1790 and 1850			2,759,329
Survivors of these in 1850			1,511,990
Whole number of immigrants, between 1790 and 1850, with their descendants in 1850			4,350,329
Survivors of these			3,103,095
Total of all our population, exclusive of Anglo-Saxon blood			8,263,498

THE FISHERY QUESTION.—The *National Intelligencer* says: It having been announced by advices from England, a week or two ago, that the Fishery difficulty had been "amicably settled," some of our most intelligent Eastern journals are speculating on the nature of the settlement referred to. We presume there has been no new arrangement entered into, even if any has been on either side thought of or proposed. All that was meant, as we believe, by the late accounts from England, was that the British Ministry had disclaimed the adoption of any more stringent regulations respecting the Fisheries than had been observed prior to the late groundless flare-up in this country; in short, that the British Ministry had no thought of adopting any new line of conduct in the premises, but meant to leave the subject, both in principle and practice, just where the treaty of 1818 placed it, and where it has remained ever since.

DANGER IN A DIVINE INSTITUTION.—A correspondent sends us the following extract from some paper which he does not name; it seems to form a part of a puff for some newly invented pistol:

"Why, one can take a small revolver of this patent, with a few extra cylinders, and Maynard's arrangement for priming, and kill a regiment. Every Southern gentleman, or planter, who has slaves, should buy a dozen of these articles."

Is it possible that Southern gentlemen who own slaves are obliged to provide the means of killing them at such a rate? Is it possible that they have any disposition to rebel against their owners, or even to attack them? We have always understood Slavery to be a divine, or, at least, a patriarchal institution, and as such, of course, the perfection of all that is sweet and lovely in human relations. Certainly we often hear of slaves who, having made the mistake of freeing themselves, have hastened back to their old homes and their former bonds. How can these contradictions be reconciled?—*Tribune.*

THE SPIRIT OF "LEGREE."—"Uncle Tom's Cabin" is considered to be too highly coloured by our Southern friends, and we have thought that Legree was too great a fiend to be natural. We, however, sometimes see a symptom of his unchristian spirit. For instance, a negro named Fleming, had a quarrel with Mr. and Mrs. Poe, at Richmond, about some trifling money matters, and Fleming becoming excited, acted very outrageously. He was arrested, and the Mayor directed that the prisoner should have thirty-nine stripes well laid on one day, and thirty-nine more the next, and then ordered his commitment for twelve months in default of $500 security to keep the peace and be of good behavior. The Richmond *Republican* says, "our only regret is, that his Honour could not have assessed the punishment at three hundred lashes, well laid on with a hot rod, to be repeated twice a week for twelve months. Such a desperado should no more be permitted to go at large than a mad dog." Well, but would you torture even a mad dog, twice a week for twelve months, with three hundred applications of a red hot iron! Would you not come under penalties for cruelty to animals by such a course? and is Fleming, though a desperado, less under the protection of the laws, than a mad dog.—*Philadelphia Sun.*

HAWTHORNE'S LIFE OF PIERCE.—Those who predict that Mr. Hawthorne has killed himself by this book are anticipating a little; and those who profess such a profound regret and wonder that he should have been willing to use his pen to write an electioneering production, shut their eyes to the motives upon which other men than Mr. Hawthorne act. Why should not a poet and novelist sometimes act to promote his own intereste, when he is not called on to do anything wrong, but merely to chronicle the uninteresting monoty of a friend's life? There is nothing very lofty or magficent in such a labour; but no pretends that writing the life of Gen. Pierce is its own reward. If revolving years should chance to place before the nation one of our own college classmates, friend or enemy, to receive the enlightened suffrages of his countrymen as a candidate for the Presidency, we confess that our attention would be immediately urrested to the contemplation of his virtues, excluding everything else, with an earnestness and assiduity that could not fail to be rewarded with the discovery of much of which we are at present wholly ignorant. If, then, there was a snug little office in the Custom-House, or somewhere else, which would suit us exactly. and which we were as competent to fill as any other man, we feel sure that we could not be restrained from giving the result of our discoveries to the world, in the shape of a "Biography of General John Smith, emqellished with a portrait, by his friend and classmate." The opponents of General Smith might say it would be the death of our literary reputation; but we do not believe it would be any such thing; and, if it were, it would be the birth of our incumbency of the snug little office in the Custom-Honse (which would rise, like a Phœnix, from the ashes of our reputation), and that, perhaps would be a fair recompense. It is true that all this goes on the supposition of the election of General Smith; but that is a risk which all politicians must run.—*To-Day.*

AN OUTRAGEOUS ATTEMPT AT KIDNAPPING.—On Friday, a free colored boy, named Isaac Williams, who has lately been employed at the Walnut-street House, was coming off the steamer at the levee he was assailed by two fellyws from Kentucky, who told him he was a runaway. By the aid of a police officer, and without the aid of any papers, legal or illegal, the boy was secured and hurried up to the watch-house, where he was thrust into one of the wrought iron cages of that establishment, while the kidnappers stepped into a groggery and drank to the success of their enterprise. In an hour or two, however, things took a turn. A clerk in a counting-house, who had seen the manner in which the boy was seized, informed a lawyer of the circumstances, who immediately made application for his release, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was immediately granted by Judge Flinn, the writ being returnable before Judge Matthews at 4 P. M. But before the lawyer could get to the Court-room with proofs of William's freedom—which were easily found—the kidnappers became alarmed, and had obtained permission of the Judge to dismiss the boy and discontinue all further proceedings. The boy is well known in this city, and is the son of the Rev. Mr. Williams, a Worthy Baptist clergyman, officiating in the Harrison-street Church. An intelligent and honourable police officer of this city informs us that within three months past there have been not less than a dozen attempts at kiddapping free colored people from this side of the river. A few days since, and while crossing on the Covington ferry-boat, he was accosted by a "flashy" looking fellow, who offered him *two hundred and fifty dollars* in gold if he would aid him to get possession of a stout coloured man residing near the Miami Canal. The officer asked him if he had the requisite papers, and was answered that *he had none!* Our policemen then very properly told him that if he had any legal warrant for an arrest it would be his duty to aid him, but he must expect no assistance from him in "stealing niggers"—gold was no temptation.—*Cincinnati Gazette, 6th.*

LETTER FROM JOHN P. HALE, *Accepting the nomination of the Pittsburgh Convention.* DOVER, N. H., Sept. 6, 1852. My Dear Sir: When I wrote to my friend, G. G. Fogg, Esq., of Concord, prior to the Pittsburgh Convention, declining in anticipation any nomination by that body, I supposed that I should not have occasson again to trespass on the attention of any one, on that subject. The decision which I then announced was not only in accordance with my own taste and judgment, but was also in pursuance of the earnest and oft-repeated request of those whose wishes I feel bound to respect, viz.: my wife and children. I had supposed that the close of my present term of service in the Senate would close forever my political career, and that the brief period which was to elapse between the present and that event, might not be disturbed by any attempt on the part of my friends to introduce my name into the contests and struggles of a Presidential election.

But the members of the convention with singular unanimity, have judged differently. Such being the case, and the friends with whom I sympathize having determined that the great interests of civil and constitutional liberty may be best promoted by a course different from that indicated by myself, I have not felt at liberty, under the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, to set up my own opinion in direct opposition to such an expression of my friends. I therefore yield my own wishes and opinions to those of my friends, and thus assent to what has been done, notwithstanding my previous refusal to consent that it might be done. I wish also to say to you, and through you to that portion of the public who may feel any interest in the matter, that to the inquiries which may be made of me, as well as to those which have already been made, as to what my opinions are on various subjects, I have no answer to make.

I suppose that those who nominated me, did it from a conviction of what I would do, founded on a knowledge of what I had done, rather than on any facility I might be supposed to possess in making pledges and promises for the future. But if I were ever so much disposed to enter the lists and contend with those who deal in promises and pledges, and professions of fidelity to the cause we espouse, I could hardly hope to come up to the standard of those made by men prominent in our ranks four years ago, but which have since been forgotten and trampled upon by those who made them, in their hot haste to enrol themselves under a banner upon which are inscribed sentiments and principles seven-fold more odious and abominable than those against which they have revolted. Very respectfully,

Your friend,

JOHN P. HALE.

Hon. Henry Wilson, President of the Free Democratic National Convention.

STATE CONVENTION OF COLOURED PEOPLE.—The coloured people of Ohio held a State Convention in Cleveland last week. The report of its proceedings is published in the *True Democrat*. It seems to have been well attended and embodied a considerable amount of talent. One of the speakers gave an illustration of national gratitude, drawn from personal history, as follows:

Mr. Flewellen, formerly of Georgia, and who took a part as a volunteer in some of the Indian wars in 1836, next spoke of the ingratitude manifested towards us after all we had done, by the citizens of the country. When the cry of "to arms, the Indians are massrcreing women and children," reached him, humanity prompted a hearty co-operation with his white fellow-citizen, to stay the ravage of savage warfare, and he volunteered in a rifle company, commanded by Captain Shorter. During the campaign the company was three times in succession beaten; a colored man named Canada risked his life by approaching within an hundred yards of the Indian camp, and climbing a tree viewed their position. By information so obtained they were enabled to surprise and put to route the Indians. The Captain enjoyed the glory, and offered the colored man a few dollars and as much liquor as he could drink. And that, said he, is about the amount of the reward.

The following resolntion was adopted as expressive of the views of the convention in regard to the Fugitive Slave Law and the means by which it should be resisted:

Resolved, That in our opinion the only way to mitigate the evils of the Fugitive Law is for each and all, singly and collectively, to enforce for himself and themselves, whenever and wherever the alternative of Slavery and liberty is attempted to be forced upon them, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and in no case to deal more mildly with the robber of the body than with the high-wayman or the assassin; but in all cases to use the mildest means adequate.

And the following in regard to Mr. Stanly Colonization project:

Resolved, That we regard the bill introduced into Congress by Mr. Stanley, of N. C., apportioning the interest of the surplus revenue among the several States for the removal of colored persons to Liberia, as another blow aimed at our rights, and we solemnly enter our protest against it as assumption of power totally unwarranted by the Constitution; the Colonization Society having no more right to such aid than any other association of private individuals.—*Bugle.*

TALBOT, the inventor of photography on paper, has made a present of his invention to the public. Thirteen years of the patent remain unexpired,

A CENSUS of Iowa, taken by the State, is now nearly completed. It shows a population of over 250,000, and an increase of 50,000 since 1850.

Jerry Rescue Celebration!

AT SYRACUSE—FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1852.

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY of the Rescue of the man JERRY, at Syracuse, on the 1st day of October, 1851, from the custody of Official Kidnappers, is to be celebrated. That act was the trumpet peal to the Sons of Liberty throughout the world. It was an act which, springing from sacred veneration for Law, defeated the blasphemous attempt of this nation to "exalt itself above all that is called God." It was an act, whether regarded as a vindication of the unchangeable laws of Justice and Humanity, or in its consequences to the cause of Human Rights, the most sublime in American History. It was the heroism of the Right. It stirred the hearts, and quickened the pulse, of the Friends of Freedom throughout America; and it is fitting that it should be commemorated, in congratulations, in rejoicings, in exultation, in argument and eloquence and song. It is fitting that the 1st day of October be made a Festal Day in the calendar of Freedom, so long as in America is denied to one human being the exercise of those Rights which are the free gift of the Almighty Father of us all. It stamped forever with reprobation and with execration, the atheistical and piratical doctrine, that Robbery of Man's inalienable Rights can be Law. To the outraged American Slave—to the oppressed Hungarian—to the disfranchised Sons of Erin—to the victims of Might against Right of all lands and all climes, it is the Star of Hope. It is a glorious harbinger of "Peace on earth and good will to man"—for there is greatness, and peace, and happiness, and joy, only where men do to others as they would have others do to them. It was the bold and practical assertion of the Truth on which the political redemption of mankind rests—that ROBBERY CANNOT BE LAW. Insensible, indeed, to all that makes Humanity glorious—to all that links Man to the Divinity—would the people of New York be, were they to suffer one Anniversary of this mighty event—an event whose consequences no intellect can compute—to pass by without such a commemoration as the great hearts which have sworn eternal fidelity on the altar of Freedom alone can give. Such, beyond peradventure, this Celebration will be. By direction, we issue this Call, as a response to the deep and irrepressible feeling in the minds of thousands upon thousands of the men and women of our land.

Arrangements will be made, befitting the august occasion. John P. Hale, Gerrit Smith, Lucretia Mott, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Joshua R. Giddings, Frederick Douglass, Ernestine L. Rose, are among the noble names of those whose eloquent tongues will minister to this "feast of reason and flow of soul." Others, as heard from, will be announced.

If possible, the Ohio Tent will be obtained, which will shelter 5,000 persons. In any event, the best possible preparations will be made; well knowing that, if need be, the descendants of the men who marked their pathway over the frozen earth of Valley Forge with their blood, for independence, can, for one day, suffer the inconvenience of an "October sun," in commemorating a practical illustration of the immortal Principles of the Declaration on which that Independence was won. Americans dwell with just and exultant pride on the fact that cargoes of tea were consigned to Boston Harbour, in defiance of and to degrade a statute in conflict with their subsequent Declaration of Independance. We now invite the descendants of those heroic men to the Celebration of an act which, in its vindication of the eternal principles of Right, as far transcends that noble deed as Man is more valuable than tea. Then, Come One! Come All! to this Jubilee of Liberty, with joyful hearts, filled with praise and gratitude to the Giver of all good, that the heroic and beautiful Spirit of Freedom is not yet dead in the hearts of the American People. SYRACUSE, September 13, 1852.

W. L. CRANDAL, JOHN THOMAS,
SAMUEL J. MAY, THOMAS G. WHITE,
CHAS. A. WHEATON, ALANSON THORP,
COMMITTEE.

Essex County Anti-Slavery Society.

A QUARTERLY Meeting of the Essex County A. S. Society will be held at Lawrence, on Saturday and Sunday, Sept. 25th and 26th, agreeably to adjournment. Meetings to commence at 7 o'clock, Saturday evening. Let there be a full attendance of the friends of Liberty.

Among the speakers engaged to be present are W. L. Garrison, Daniel Foster, and Charles L. Remond.

JOSEPH MERRILL, *Rec. Sec'y.*

AT a meeting of a committee appointed to decide upon a time and place, and issue a call for the meeting of the young people of Ohio in Convention, it was decided that such a convention should be held *on the 25th and 26th of September next*, at Marlboro, Stark county, Ohio; the first session commencing on the 25th, at ten o'clock, A. M.

Our object in calling the young people together, is not to consider the narrow, selfish views of any sect or party, but to discuss the great question of *Human Rights*. Young men and women! upon your physical, intellectual, and moral development, depends the future progress and elevation of the race.

Then throw aside the shackles of party and prejudice, and let us discuss with a sincere desire to know the truth of those principles which lie at the foundation of human improvement and happiness.

All are cordially invited, nay, *urged*, to come prepared to take an acti part in the doings of the convention. It will be under the exclusive control of the young; then let us come up a mighty host, in the strength and ardor of youth, and with willing hands and brave hearts take hold of the monster evil, and tear it limb from limb. The services of some experienced speakers, capable of adding interest to the occasion will be secured.

WILLIAM H. BETTS, ELIZA M. MCGOWEN,
JULIA CLEVERLY, JAMES MORGAN,
SUSAN SPIKER, ANDREW MCGOWEN,
ALVAH CAMPBELL, CATH. S. MORRIS.

☞ All papers friendly to the movement please copy the above.

To the Friends of Humanity.

AFTER an imprisonment of more than four years, in the city of Washington, for a deed in the highest degree creditable to his humanity, though punished as a felony by the Government, Capt. DANIEL DRAYTON, with his companion, EDWARD SAYRES, has been pardoned by the President of the United States, (mainly through the instrumentality of Hon. Charles Sumner), and is once more at liberty, but with his health very seriously impaired, so as to unfit him to engage, at present, in any business for a livelihood.

As he has a large family dependent on him for support, his case is one deserving of special sympathy and aid on the part of the friends of impartial liberty, in whose cause he has been so great a sufferer.

The undersigned, therefore, the committee who had the management of the case in the courts at Washington, while the trial was pending, respectfully solicit such contributions in behalf of Capt. Drayton and his family as any may be disposed to make, pledging themselves to see the money faithfully applied and duly acknowledged. Donations may be sent to either Francis Jackson or Robert Morris, 27 State street.

S. E. SEWALL,
J. P. BLANCHARD,
FRANCIS JACKSON,
ELIZUR WRIGHT,
ROBERT MORRIS,
JOSEPH SOUTHWICK,
JOHN W. BROWNE,
RICHARD HILDRETH,
S. G. HOWE,
Committee.

Boston, August 28, 1852.

☞ Papers friendly will please copy.

New Bedford (Bristol Co., Mass.).

AN Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in New Bedford, at Liberty Hall, commencing on Saturday evening, September 25, and continuing on Sunday, 26th, at the usual hours, day and evening.

Miss Sallie Holley, of Rochester, N. Y., Stephen S. Foster and Abby Kelley Foster, Agents of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will attend this meeting.

☞ NINETEENTH ☜

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

To be held in Boston, Mass., during the Christmas Week of 1852.

THE Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar feel it unnecessary, on the present occasion, to enter upon any full or detailed exposition of their principles or objects. These have been avowed and pursued for so many years, and with so much publicity, as to render such a procedure superfluous. We would not, at the same time, lose sight of the great fact, that there may be many among us, whose consciences and hearts have been but recently aroused to a sense of the importance of this great question, who, though *feeling* much, may be *doing* little, and who would gladly welcome a medium by which their exertions will be made effective toward the overthrow of American Slavery. To such, we would submit the very briefest outline of our principles and aim.

We regard the idea of property in man as unparalelled, whether considered in respect to its atrocity or absurdity—consequently, that all legislation based thereon is in the highest degree criminal. Any other doctrine outrages every intellectual perception and every human instinct.

Considering the above a self-evident proposition, underlying all religion and all morality, apart from whose recognition the words right, justice, become meaningless, we esteem its opponents, whether slaveholders or the apologists of slaveholding, as implicated in guilt of the most fearful description, both against that God 'who has made of one blood all nations of men,' and against their fellow-men generally, the rights of all being perilled by the enslavement of any.

The promulgation of this doctrine is the end and aim of our association. By its presentation to individual hearts and consciences the country through, we would arouse so deep a spirit of personal repentance and self-sacrifice as shall result in a national contrition and reformation. When this is accomplished, the American slave is free. No obstacles exist now, save those that ambition, and avarice, and cruelty, and kindred vices supply. When the heart of the nation becomes repentant, we may easily trust it to find the best modes of action for the accomplishment of its will. To this result, and this only, our funds are devoted. We have nothing to do with creeds or parties, with political enginery or theological warfare. In the name of the common Father of all, and in behalf of humanity, in its most suffering and outraged form, we appeal for help to all of every class, creed, clime or nation. Great as is the work, few and humble as are the labourers, we feel exonerated from all charge of presumption or folly as respects its undertaking. We are working in harmony with agencies vast as inscrutable, and it is not for us to draw back from this field of moral conflict, because to human vision the contending parties are so unequally matched.

We entreat that this appeal may be considered a personal one to all whose eyes it shall reach. We conjure you, the dwellers throughout this broad country, to recognise an individual responsibility in this matter. Look beyond the petty emotions and interests of a merely mundane or conventional life, and ask, if the question of *your* duty to three millions of slaves was not settled for you, by the fact that your birthplace was the United States. This cause has claims on all, but in an especial manner on those who by every circumstance of position, must be, if not its opponents, its abettors. We ask your sympathy, your money, your time and influence, and proffer a medium through which all may be successfully employed. Any information necessary to individuals or associations desiring to co-operate with us, may be obtained by application to any member of the undersigned Committee.

Donations of money, or articles or materials for manufacture, may be sent to any member of the Committee, directed to the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, Boston, 142 Nassau street, New York, or to 31 North Fifth street Philadelphia Donations for the publication of the Liberty Bell, and communications for the same, may be addressed to A. W. Weston, Weymouth, Mass.

ANNE WARREN WESTON, ELIZABETH A. COTTON,
ANN GREENE PHILLIPS, LYDIA PARKER,
LOUISA LORING, EVELINA A. S. SMITH,
HELEN E. GARRISON, SARAH SHAW RUSSEL,
CATHERINE SARGENT, MARIA LOWELL,
HENRIETTA SARGENT, THANKFUL SOUTHWICK,
MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
MARY MAY, ANN R. BRAMHALL,
SARAH R. MAY, HANNAH TUFTS,
CAROLINE F. WILLIAMS, SARAH B. SHAW,
FRANCIS MARY ROBBINS, ELIZABETH GAY,
MARIA W. CHAPMAN, MARY WILLEY,
CAROLINE WESTON, ABBY FRANCIS,
ELIZA L. FOLLEN, CHARLOTTE S. SARGENT,
SUSAN C. CABOT, ELIZA F. EDDY,
MARY H. JACKSON.

THE WATER CURE JOURNAL.—A new volume commences with the present July number. Published monthly, illustrated with engravings, exhibiting the structure, anatomy, and physiology of the human body, with familiar instructions to learners. It is emphatically a Journal of Health, designed to be a complete Family Guide in all diseases.

TERMS—Only One Dollar a Year, in advance. Please address, post paid, FOWLERS AND WELLS, No. 131 Nassau st., New York.

Christiana Rescue Trials.

A HISTORY of the Trial of Castner Hanway and others for Treason; with an introduction upon the History of the Slave Question—a pamphlet of 86 pp. For sale at this Office—25 cts.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN—Copies of this work may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Office, 142 Nassau St.

Miscellaneous Department.

THE YEZIDIS, OR DEVIL-WORSHIPPERS.

We meet in the East with many religious sects, which have existed from far distant ages, some entirely unaltered, others considerably modified by various changes; and it is often interesting to trace such sects to their source, if only for the information we obtain concerning the forms in which mind unfolded itself in ancient times, and the manner in which different religions were sometimes combined. Thus, in the Sabæans or Mandaites of the present day, we find a sect whose origin is to be traced to the excitements of the first and second century consequent upon the preaching of John the Baptist, but whose character has been quite altered by the different elements it has taken up in its course.

We have chosen for examination the enigmatical sect of the Yezidis,* in the hope of ascertaining whether any positive origin can be assigned them. We shall first describe the sect, as far as the various accounts we have received enable us; and then, by comparing it with other ancient sects which are in some respects similar, determine, if possible, whether it is to be traced to any one in particular, or to a combination of several. Michael Febvre first mentions them, in the latter half of the seventeenth century. He speaks of them as a powerful race, easily contented, living in black tents, leading a nomad life, and mostly herdsmen. He commends their hospitality. They are friendly to Christians, but hate Mohammedans, who have been their greatest persetors. The leading point in their religious doctrines is this, that they will never speak ill of the devil. Neither persuasion nor force can induce them, and some have been flayed alive rather than consent. The reasons they give are: "That we cannot with a good conscience abuse any creature, for this right belongs to the Creator alone; and since we find no precept in the Scriptures to curse the devil, it is not right to offend him, as Christians and Turks do, even though we regard him as a rebel against God. They compare him to a ministers who has fallen into disgrace, and whom we should wish well to, and not curse. There is still hope, they think that the devil will some day be reconciled to God, through the Divine mercy, and then he will certainly endeavour to revenge himself for all the insults he received during his disgrace. And even if he is not reconciled, yet, if a man falls into his power after death, he will have the worst to fear from him. So that, in either case, it is best to spare him." This is the account which the leading men give of their doctrine; the rest never utter the name of Satan, but refer to him in other terms, as "the angel Paon," "the Conscious One, or he whom the ignorant curse." We cannot expect anything definite concerning their doctrines, as they have no written religious documents. They believe in the Old and New Testaments, and the Koran, and teach that all these books fell from heaven. At their feasts, they sing, to the guitar, songs in honour of Christ, of Mary, of Moses, of Zechariah, and even of Mohammed. It is remarkable, when we think of the Christan communion, that they sometimes call wine the blood of Christ. If any one at their festivals offers another a cup of wine, he says, "Take this cup with the blood of Christ;" and he who receives the cup kisses the hand of the one who brings it, all present rising at the same time, and bowing, with their arms crossed, while he is drinking. They are divided into two classes, distinguished by their dress—the one wearing black, the other white. The former stand highest, and form a kind of sacerdotal caste. Febvre derives their name from a man named Yezid: "Many of them regard Yezid and Christ as the same under different names. They relate of Christ such miraculous tales as occur in the apocryphal gospels. Those who are clothed in black shrink from killing animals, although they eat them when killed; a feeling which arises probably from a belief in the transmigration of souls. The day on which one who has worn black clothes dies is observed as a festival, and not a day of mourning; 'he must be congratulated on his entrance to a blessed life.' When they pray, they turn to the East; and at sunrise, as soon as the first rays enter their tents, they rise, fold their hands, and pray to God in the presence of the sun."

This account is confirmed by Niebuhr, who says that there is a village entirely occupied by them between Arbil (the ancient Arbela) and Zab. The following is the account given by the Abbot Sestini, who travelled from Constantinople to Bassora in the year 1781: "In the Kurdish Hills you come to a village, Sinjar, inhabited by Yezidis, who are called 'Worshippers of the Devil.' They call Satan Cherubim. They have their Emir in Kurdistan, where they assemble once a year with their families; and in the evening, when they have finished eating and drinking, they put out the lights." In his account of a second journey, he gives a fuller description, as received from a Dominican.

He calls them a mixture of the errors of the Manichæans, the Mohammedans, and the Persians. The doctrine is spread by tradition, without books, since they are forbidden to read and write. They believe in all the prophets and saints of the Christians, whose names are attached to the monasteries in the neighbourhood. Most of them profess faith in Moses, Christ and Mohammed. God, they say, has given commands, but left the devil to execute them. They have neither fast nor prayers, for Yezid, they say, performed enough for all his followers to the end of the world. Ten days after the August new moon, they hold an annual assembly, which lasts ten days and a night, at the grave of the Sheikh Adi, when many meet together from distant countries. On their way thither, robberies are often committed; and small caravans are in great danger if a larger body of Yezidis approaches. Many women, too, from the neighbouring villages, the unmarried excepted, come to the festival; after feasting, they extinguish the lights, and never speak again till sunrise. They hold the Christian monastries in great veneration; and if they visit them, before they enter they bare their feet and kiss the walls, in the belief that the patron saint of the monastery will be their protector; or if they are ill and dream of a monastery, they visit it, before they are perfectly well, and bring as an offering, incense, wax, resin, or some other present to the monastery, and after kissing the walls and remaining a quarter of an hour there, return home. They recognise as the head of their religion the Sheikh, who is the chief of the race. He has the care of Sheikh Adi's tomb, who restored their sect. The Sheikh of the race must always be a descendant of Yezid, and in such veneration is he held, that they consider themselves fortunate if they can procure one of his shirts to be buried in. By his intercession and merits they expect to reach a higher place, and therefore many of them [illegible] a shirt for forty piastres (more than $10); or [illegible]ey cannot procure the whole, content themselves with a piece. The chief of the Yezidis has always a man present with him, called Kocieck, that is, [illegible]er, who is listened to as an oracle and consulted before every undertaking. He is said to receive his revelations from the devil; and if a Yezidi is in doubt about any important matter, advice is obtained for a purse of money. Before the Kocieck replies, he stretches himself on the ground and sleeps, or appears to sleep; and on waking, declares that such a decision has been revealed to him. The following incident is a proof of the importance attached to his revelations: Forty years ago the Yezidi women, like the Arabian, used to dye their under-clothes with indigo, for the sake of saving soap. One morning the Kocieck came unexpectedly to the chief, and said that it had been revealed to him, the night before, that indigo colour was unlucky, and not in favour with the devil. This was enough to send men to every tribe with orders to banish the colour, to get rid of the clothes, and put white in their place. And with such care did they carry out the command, that if any of the Yezidis visited Christians or Turks, and a bed of this colour was given them, rather than use it, even in the middle of winter, they would sleep with only their own clothes. The Yezidis believe that the souls of the dead are taken to a place of rest, where they are more or less happy according to their desert; they are said to visit their relatives and friends occasionally, to inform them of their wishes.

The American missionaries, Grant and Hinsdale, visited them during the period of their residence amongst the Nestorians in Persia and the Kurds. When Grant first entered the village, he was received very coldly by the Sheikh, but soon ascertained that the reason lay in his mistaking him for a Mohammedan. As soon as he was known to be a Christian, everything changed. In this we have a proof that the Yezidis entertain great respect for Christianity, of which many a relic—as, for example, baptism—is still preserved by them. They make, too, the sign of the cross. They believe in one God, and, in a certain sense, in Christ as a Saviour. They kiss the first rays of the sun if they fall upon anything near them. They never blow out a light or spit into the fire, lest they should defile the holy element. They are said to practise circumcision, and observe a passover festival, or something similar to the sacrifice of the paschal lamb.

Grant conversed with a chief of the Yezidis, who said that they were on friendly terms with the Christians, but not with the Mohammedans; that their ancestors were Christians of the same kind as the Nestorians. When he was alone with Grant, he asked, with an anxious look, whether the day was not near when Christianity would triumph and rule the world. He pointed to the burning lamp and the rising sun, whilst he mentioned with warmth the name of Jesus Christ, and bowed in token of reverence. He related, too, after carefully looking that no one was present, as a great secret, that his people were sons of Israel, and believed in the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Gospels; and, with a strict charge not to mention it, said, that they possessed another book of their own, called Furkal. They are said to read the Koran, after covering the name of Satan with wax whenever it occurs.

Layard visited them, and relates that they acknowledge a Supreme Being, to whom they present neither offering nor prayer. They never mention the name of the evil spirit, and are said to have put to death many who hurt their religious feelings by using the word Satan. They even avoid any word which bears the least resemblance. They have a copper figure of a bird, which, however, they do not regard as an idol, but as a symbol, probably of the pride of the fallen angel.

They say that Satan, who is suffering punishment on account of his apostacy, still possesses great power. There are seven angels subject to him, who have great influence upon the world. Christ, too, was a superior angel, who assumed a human form; he did not die upon the cross, but rose to heaven. [Here we have a Docetic idea.] They expect the return of Christ. They show the same reverence to fire which they do to the sun, holding their hands over it, and afterwards kissing them. Washings are frequent with them. They consider pork unclean, and observe, besides the Mosaic law, the commands given to Noah. Layard disproves the reports of excesses during the nightly festival, as he was himself present at one.

To the accounts given, the Armenian writer, Injijean, only adds, that they boast of intercourse with demons, and observe a ceremony similar to the mass; the priests wearing a dress like that worn at the mass by Catholic priests. With uncovered head, they put bread and wine into the cup, and offer over them a silent prayer. If they find a lamp burning before an altar, or an image of the Virgin Mary, they dip their finger in the oil and make the sign of the cross.

From these accounts, it is evident that there are many difficulties in the way of an examination of this sect and its origin. They appear to have kept their doctrines very secret, and made them known with great reluctance; and, from their want of education, their original faith may have been corrupted in many ways, and mixed up with foreign elements. The frequency, too, with which mixed religions occur in the East; the ease with which this sect could be induced from political motives to attach itself at one time to Christianity, and at another to Mohammedanism and the Koran; and, above all, the fact that the principle commonly acted upon by such Eastern sects is, to deceive those who are unfitted for their esoteric doctrine, make it more difficult to arrive at any certain conclusion. Still, if we put together all that we find in the preceding accounts, we cannot fail to discover that the whole tendency of their doctrine is essentially opposed to Mohammedanism; that it has had its origin in some connection with Christianity, though, perhaps, it has since taken up more of the Christian element than originally belonged to it. There are indications also of dualism, and the sun and fire-worship of Parsism;* and this is to be expected from their position and their connection with Persia and Armenia, the latter the land in which Parsism existed longest, first in opposition to Christianity, and afterwards blended with it. It is evident, however, that we do not find here the *pure* doctrine of Zoroaster in any shape, but one which has sprung from a mixture of Parsism with Christian elements. The only question is, *which* of the Christian sects, where such a mixture is perceptible, are we to fix upon?

This influence of the doctrines of Parsism is evident in several sects. We may mention the old Jewish sect of the Essenes, of whom Josephus says, that "before sunrise they converse about nothing common or profane, and address prayers to the sun, as if begging it to rise; and that they fear lest the sun's rays should fall on anything impure;" a feeling existing also amongst the Yezidis. But our knowledge of the Essenes is too limited to allow us to compare them with any other sect.

The most prominent feature in the doctrine of the Yezidis is, that they believe not only that the spirit who is the cause of all evil was originally good, and has fallen from God, but that he will, in the end, be reconciled again. Moreover, it is peculiar to this sect that the fallen spirit, on account of his original nature and his future restoration to his lost dignity, is made an object of special veneration; this is so extraordinary, that if we find in any sect a similar feature, we may at once conclude either that the Yezidis are connected with this sect, or that the two have sprung from the same source. This applies exactly to a Christian sect which sprang up in the eleventh century in the Byzantine empire, coming from Thrace and the neighbouring country, under the name of Εὐχιταί (prayers), Ἐνθουσιασταί (enthusiasts)—so called from their prayers and convulsions. The Constantinopolitan writer, Michael the Stammerer, from whom we obtain our knowledge of this sect, gives the following account: They believe in one God as the Father. From him sprang two principles, the elder and younger son. To the Father they allotted the whole ethereal region of existence; to the younger son (by whom, no doubt, Christ is meant) that which is in heaven; to the elder, the government of everything in the world. The latter they called Satanael—a compound word already common amongst the Jews. The professors of this doctrine he divdes into three classes. Of the *first*, he says that they honour both the sons; for, say they, although at present opposed, they are descended from the same father, and will at last be reconciled. From this it is evident that they did not regard the elder son as originally an evil spirit, an unconscious principle, in its very essence evil, and opposed to the divine, but as a spirit fallen from God, and therefore at last to be reconciled to him. Here we have exactly the doctrine of the Yezidis. Of the *second* class, he says that they honoured the younger as the ruler over the higher region; the elder they do not honour as the others do, but think that they should prudently take care that he does them no injury. In this, too, we see something analogous to to the doctrine of the Yezidis, for they give as their reason for not insulting Satan, that he possesses great power to injure men. He notices a *third* class, who only honoured Satan, and set themselves in direct opposition to God. It is doubtful, however, whether this distinction is founded on truth. We find another striking correspondence between the Euchitæ and the Yezidis: the former boasted of special revelations, appealed to visions and convulsions, and this we find also amongst the Yezidis. The Thracian mentions, as an example, an occurrence which took place when he attended a meeting of his sect in Southern Dalmatia: a man in an ecstatic state rose and denounced him as having been sent by the government to lay snares for the sect, and publish their secrets, and take him prisoner to Constantinople. There is another resemblance to the Yezidis in the practice of the Euchitæ of holding nightly meetings, at which the lamps were extinguished. They agree further in the allowance of deception and accommodation for the sake of escaping persecution; for, in the work mentioned, it is said that such men were found amidst the "holy coin;" whether by this we are to understand the Catholic Church, or monks, or the clergy. Here the Euchitæ were discovered, after spreading themselves for a long time secretly, and in the twelfth century they came to light amongst the Sclavonian tribes under another name. There is no doubt that the Bogomilæ of the twelfth century were connected with the Euchitæ. The latter had endeavoured to spread themselves within and around the Grecian empire, and were able easily to find admission to the newly converted Bulgarian tribe. From this they entered again the Grecian empire, and thus it happens that they appear this time with the Sclavonian name Bogomilæ, which corresponds with their original Grecian name. The name is explained from the combination of *Bog*, Lord, and *miloui*, pray, taken from their frequent invocations of Deity. Amongst them we find the same doctrine as amongst the Euchitæ: one Father, from whom two spirits descend—the elder, Satanael; the younger, Christ; that Satanael rebelled against God, seduced a part of the other spirits, and, by the divine power which he still retained, created the world. These Bogomilæ continued to spread for some time in the Grecian empire; and to them we trace some of the dualistic sects which were found in the middle ages in the west of Europe, under the name of Cathari.

The combination of the Christian religion with that of Zoroaster was not of rare occurrence, but constantly renewed; and the sects which sprang from it spread into all the neighbouring countries of Asia. In such a mixture the "children of the sun" originated. And though the Paulicians belonged to a different form of dualism from the Yezidis, it is an important fact that they endeavoured to spread in all directions, that they were warlike, as the Yezidis, and were often employed amongst the auxiliaries of the Byzantine empire.

It only remains to inquire whether the notion of the relation of the evil to the good held by the Yezidis and certain Christian sects, sprang from a mixture of Parsic† and Christian ideas, or from some later form of the Parsic doctrine, without any connection with Christianity. This necessitates another question: whether we find in Parsism an absolute dualism, or only a relative one, founded on a belief in the unity of the primary principle as the first cause of all existence. To me a distinction seems to exist between a hidden first cause and Ormuzd, who has his life in that hidden eternity, and is himself the divine essence revealed. The view of Ahriman as the first-born, and Ormuzd as the later, found in the relation of Satanael to Christ, points to an old Parsic sect. But the belief in Ahriman as an originally evil principle does not tally with the notion of future reconciliation; and all that Parsism teaches is, that at last the good will triumph over the evil—Ahriman will cease to fight. In this idea, that Ahriman, the evil principle, was originally bad, we find a notion entirely opposed to the views of the sects mentioned, and therefore conclude that they sprang from a mixture of the doctrines of Parsism and Christianity.—*National Magazine.*

*A tribe in Asia Minor, having their settlements in the hills between the Tigris and Euphrates.

*The religion introduced by Zoroaster amongst the Persians probably in the sixth century B. C.

† The leading doctrines of Parsism were, that there are two principles in the universe in constant strife; Ormuzd, the good principle; Ahriman, the evil. The creation of the good comes first; Ahriman is the disturbing principle. But Ormuzd is destined to triumph, and the power of Ahriman will be taken away. Every true Parsee considers himself a soldier of Ormuzd.

Content and Rich.

The following lines were written by Robert Southwell, an English Catholic priest of the sixteenth century. The poem, beautiful in itself, derives additional interest from the fate of its author, who, in the prime of life, perished on the scaffold, a martyr to his religion:

My conscience is my crown;
 Contented thoughts my rest;
My heart is happy in itself,
 My bliss is in my breast.

Enough I reckon wealth;
 That mean, the surest lot,
That lies too high for base contempt,
 Too low for envy's shot.

My wishes are but few,
 All easy to fulfil:
I make the limits of my power
 The bounds unto my will.

I fear no care for gold;
 Well-doing is my wealth;
My mind to me an empire is,
 While grace affordeth health.

I clip high-climbing thoughts,
 The wings of swelling pride;
Their fall is worst that from the height
 Of greatest honour slide.

Since sails of largest size
 The storm doth soonest tear,
I bear so low and small a sail
 As freeth me from fear.

I wrestle not with rage
 While fury's flame doth burn;
It is in vain to stop the stream
 Until the tide doth turn.

But when the flame is out,
 And ebbing wrath doth end,
I turn a late enraged foe
 Into a quiet friend.

And taught with often proof,
 A tempered calm I find
To be most solace for myself,
 Best cure for angry mind.

Spare diet is my fare,
 My clothes more fit than fine;
I know I feed and clothe a foe,
 That pampered, would repine.

I envy not their hap
 Whom favour doth advance;
I take no pleasure in their pain
 That have less happy chance.

To rise by other's fall
 I deem a losing gain;
All States with others' ruin built
 To ruin run amain.

No change of Fortune's calm
 Can cast my comforts down;
When Fortune smiles, I smile to think,
 How quickly she will frown.

And when, in froward mood,
 She proved an angry foe,
Small gain, I found, to let her come—
 Less loss to let her go.

PENN'S CONFERENCE AND TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

This conference was one of the most striking scenes of history. Artists have painted, poets have sung, philosophers have applauded it; but it is never the less clear, that in words and colours it has been equally and generally misrepresented, because painters, poets and historians have chosen to draw on their imaginations for the features of a scene, every marking line of which they might have recovered from authentic sources. The great outlines of nature are easily obtained. The dense masses of cedar, pine, and chesnut, stretching far away in the interior of the land; here the noble river rolling its waters down to the Atiantic ocean; along its surface rose the purple smoke of the settlers' homestead; on the opposite shore lay the fertile and settled country of New Jersey.

Here stood the gigantic elm which was to become immortal from that day forward—and there lay the verdant council room formed by nature on the surface of the soil. In the centre stood William Penn, in costume undistinguished from the surrounding group, save by the silken sash. His costume was simple, but not pedantic or ungainly. An outer coat, reaching to his knees, and covered with buttons a vest of other materials, but equally ample; trousers extremely full, slashed at the sides and tied with strings or ribbons; a profusion of shirt sleeves and ruffles, with a hat of the cavalier shape (wanting only the feather), from beneath the brim of which escaped the curls of a new peruke—were its chief and not ungraceful ingredients. At his right hand was Col. Markham, who had met the Indians in council more than once, on that identical spot, and was regarded by them as a firm and faithful friend; on his left, Pearson, the intrepid companion of his voyage; and near his person, but a little backward, a band of his most attached adherents.

When the Indians approached in their old forest costume, their bright feathers sparkling in the sun, and their bodies painted in the most gorgeous manner, the governor received them with the easy dignity of one accustomed to mix with European courts. As soon as the reception was over, the sachems retired to a short distance, and after a brief consultation among themselves, Taminent, the chief sachem or king, a man whose virtues are still remembered by the sons of the forest, advanced again a few paces, and put upon his own head a chaplet, into which was twisted a small horn. This chaplet was his symbol of power; and in the costume of the Lenni Lenape, whenever the chief placed it upon his brow, the spot became at once sacred, and the person of every one present inviolable.

The venerable Indian king then seated himself on the ground, with the older sachems on his right and left; the middle-aged warriors ranged themselves in the form of a crescent or half-moon round them; and the younger men formed a third semi-circle. All being seated in this picturesque and striking order, the old monarch announced to the governor that the natives were prepared to hear and consider his words. Penn then rose to address them, his countenance beaming with all the pride of manhood. He was at this time thirty-eight years old; light and graceful in form; "the handsomest and best-looking, most lively gentleman" she had ever seen, wrote a lady who was an eye-witness of the ceremony. He addressed them in their own language; the topics were few and simple; and the beauty of his ideas would compensate with such an audience for the minor errors of diction.

The Great Spirit, he said, who ruled in the Heaven to which good men go after death, who made him and them out of nothing, and who knew every secret thought that was in the heart of white and red men, knew that he and his children had a strong desire to live in peace, to be their friends, to do no wrong, but to serve them in every way to the extent of their power. As the Great Spirit was the common Father of all, he wished them to live together not merely as brothers, as the children of a common parent, but as if they were joined with one hand, one heart, one body, together: that if ill was done to one, all would suffer; and if good was done to one all would gain. He and his children, he went on to say, never use the rifle or trusted to the sword; they met the red man on the broad path of good faith and good will. They intended to do no harm and had no fear in their hearts. They believed that their brothers of the red race were just, and they were prepared to trust in their friendship. He then unfolded the writing of the treaty of friendship and explained its clauses one after the other. It recited that from that day the children of Onas and the nations of the Lenni Lenape should be brothers to each other—that all paths should be free and open—that the doors of the white men should open to the red men, and the doors of the red men, should be open to the white men—that the children of Onas should not believe any false reports of the Lenni Lenape, nor the Lenni Lenape of the children of Onas, but should come and see for themselves as brothers to brothers, and bury such false reports in the bottomless pit—that if the Christians should hear of anything likely to be of hurt to the Indians, or the Indians hear anything likely to harm the Christians, they should run, like true friends and let the other know—that if any son of Onas were to do any harm to any red skin, or any red skin were to do any harm to the son of Onas, the sufferer should not offer to right himself, but should complain to the chiefs and to Onas, that justice might be declared by twelve honest men, and the wrong buried in a pit with no bottom—that the Lenni Lenape should assist the white men, and white men should assist the Lenni Lenape, against all such as would disturb them or do them hurt—and lastly, that both Christians and Indians should tell their children of this league and chain of friendship, that it should grow stronger and stronger, and be kept bright and clean, without rust or spot, while the waters ran down the creeks and rivers, and while the sun and moon and stars endured.

He then laid the scroll on the ground. What King Taminent replied is not known except that in substance he was favourable to the views of Penn. The sachems received his proposal with decent gravity, and accepted it for themselves and for their children. No oaths, no official mummeries were used; the treaty was ratified on both sides with yea, the only one, says Voltaire, that the world has known, never sworn to and never broken.

This scene remained to the two races who were witnesses and actors in it, an inheritance of good will and honourable pride for an entire century. From year to year, says the venerable historian of the Six Nations, Heckewelder, the sachems assembled their children in the woods, in a shady spot as like as they could find to that in which the great Onas had conferred with them, when they would spread out his words or speeches on a blanket or clean piece of bark and repeat it again and again to their great satisfaction.

In a few years, Penn, going beyond the sea and never returning, became to them a sort of mythical personage; they not only held his memory in great veneration, but treated the whole body of white men with more kindness for his sake. To be a follower of Onas was at all times a passport to their protection and hospitality.

Nor have his own countrymen been less indebted or less grateful to the Great Treaty. To it, and to the strictness with which its provisions were maintained by Penn, is owing to that striking fact recorded by Bancroft; that while every colony in the New World was visited by the horrors of Indian warfare, no drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by a red man in Pennsylvania.

It is humiliating to the pride of the white man to think that one of his race should have been the first to break this noble league of peace. Forty years after the famous treaty, and five years after the death of Onas, one of his unworthy children murdered the first red man who lost his life in Pennsylvania. The deed was attended with circumstances of unusual atrocity, but it shows in a striking light the power of a noble sentiment, that the Indians themselves prayed that the murderer's life might be spared. It was spared: but he died in a very short time, and then they said the Great Spirit had avenged their brother.

The venerable elm under which the meeting took place served to mark the spot until the storm of 1810 threw it to the ground. It measured 24 feet in girth, and was found to be 283 years old. A piece was sent home to the Penn family, by whom it was mounted on a pedestal with appropriate inscriptions; and the remainder was manufactured into vases, workstands, and other relics now held sacred by their possessors. A plain monument has since been erected on the spot, inscribed on each face with four short and simple sentences commemorative of the Great Treaty.—*Dixon's Life of Penn.*

Sneezing.—One of the old French histories, in alluding to the tremendous influenza of the begining of the seventh century, says that there has been referred to it the familiar usage of offering good wishes to those who sneeze. It is said, he says, that in the days of Gregory VII., those who had the misfortune to sneeze immediately died. This gave occasion to the religious pontiff to order for the faithful certain prayers accompanied by good wishes to turn away these dangerous effects from the corruption of the air.

This is a fable, adds the author; for we are assured that the custom is older in all parts of the known world. It is well known to mythological students that the first sign of life, which the man made by Prometheus gave, was a sneeze. Prometheus had stolen a part of the rays of the sun, and filled with them a vessel made expressly for the purpose, which he sealed hermetically. He then returned at once to his favourite statue, and presented to it his bottle opened. It may be imagined that the odour of bottled sunbeams proved somewhat pungent; the rays had lost some of their activity; they insinuated themselves into the pores of the statue, and made it sneeze.

Prometheus, charmed with his success, made a prayer, and offered vows for the preservation of this singular being. His pupil heard him; he remembered him, and took great care on similar occasions to make the application of those vows to his descendants, who, from father to son, have preserved the memory of them from generation to generation. And at this day the custom holds in all countries in the world.

The Rabbins, speaking of this usage, do not give to it the same antiquity. They say that after the creation God made a general law that every living man should only sneeze once, and that in the same instant he should surrender his soul to God, without any previous sickness. Jacob, who was dissatisfied with this brusque way of going out of the world, and wished an opportunity to set his affairs in order before he died, bowed himself before the Lard, wrestled with him again, and begged that he might be excepted from this rule. His prayer was granted; he sneezed, and he did not die. All the princes of the world, being informed of this fact, ordered that, for the future, sneezing should be accompanied with prayer and vows for the preservation and prolongation of life.

The tradition was very ancient in the time of Aristotle, who did not know the origin of it, and sought to explain it in his Problems. He pretends that the first men conceived very elevated ideas about the head, which is the principle seat of the mind, and that they carried their reverence even to respect for the sneeze, which is one of the most manifest and sensible operations of the head. The formulas of blessing used by the Romans and Greeks, on occasions of sneezes, were: "May Jupiter preseve you;" or simply "Health," or, "May you be well."

Playing the Piano, and how it is Done.—The other evening we were at a party of a friend of ours, and amongst the lot was a gay Miss, who had just returned from boarding school, where, after many solicitations and apologies she seated herself at the piano, rocked to the right, then to the left, leaned forward, then backward, and then began. She placed her right hand about midway the keys, and her left about two octaves below them. She now puts off the right to a brisk canter upon the treble notes, and her left after it. The left then led the way back, and right pursued it in like manner. The right turned and repeated its movement, but the left outrun it this time, hopped over it and flung it entirely off the track. It came in again, however, behind the left, on its return, and passed it in the same style. They now became highly incensed at each other, and met furiously on the middle ground. Here a most awful conflict ensued for a short space, when the right whipped off all of a sudden, as we thought fairly vanquished; but we were in error in what Jack Randolph cautions us—it had only "fallen back to a stronger position." It had mounted up two back keys, and commenced the note of a rattlesnake. This had a wonderful effect upon the left, and placed the doctrine of snake charming beyond dispute. The left rushed toward it repeatedly, but seemed invariably panic-struck when it came within six keys of it, and as invariably retired with a tremendous roar down the bass keys; continued its assaults, sometimes by a zigzag movement, but all its attempts to dislodge the right from its strong hold proved ineffectual, it came close up to its adversary and expired.

Any one, or rather no one, can imagine what kind of noises the piano made during the conflict. Certain it is that no one can describe them, and therefore we shall not attempt it. The battle ended, Miss Jane moved as though she would have risen, but this was protested against by a number of voices at once. "One song, my dear Jane," "you must sing that sweet little French air you used to sing, and which Madame Piggisqueaki is so fond of." Miss Jane looked pitiful at her mamma, and her mamma looked "sing it Miss Jane;" accordingly she squared herself for a song. She brought her hands into a capus this time in fine style, and they seemed to be perfectly reconciled to each other, then commenced a kind of colloquy; the right whispering treble very sadly, and left responding bass very loudly.

The conference had been kept up until we began to desire a change upon the subject, when our ears caught, indistinctly, some very curious sounds, which appeared to proceed from the lips of Miss Jane; they seemed to be a compound of a dry cough, a grunt, a hiccough it appeared to us, as interpreters between the right and left. Things had progressed in this way for about 15 seconds, when we happened to direct our attention to Mr. R. His eyes were closed, his head swung gracefully from side to side, a beam of heavenly complacency raised on his countenance, and his whole man gave irresistible demonstrations that Miss Jane's music had made him feel good all over. We resolved, from this contemplation of Mr. R's. transport, to see whether we could extract from the performance anything intelligible, when Miss Jane made a fly catching grab at half-a-dozen keys in a row, and the same instant she fetched a long dung hill cock crow, at the conclusion of which she grappled at as many keys with the left. This came over R. like a warm bath, and over us like a rack of bamboo briars.

Our nerves were not recovered until Miss Jane repeated the movement, accompanying it with the squeal of a pinched cat. This threw us into an ague fit, but from respect to the performer, we maintained our position. She now made a third grasp with her right, and at the same time raised one of the most unearthly howls that ever issued from the throat of any human being. This seemed the signal for universal uproar and destruction. She now threw away all reserve, and charged the piano with her whole force. She boxed it, she clawed it, she scraped it. Her neck veins swelled, her chin flew up, her face flushed, her eyes glared, her bosom heaved; she screamed, she howled, she yelled, she cackled, and was in the act of dwelling upon the note of a screech owl, when we took the St. Vitus's dance and rushed out of the room. "Goodness!" said a bystander, "if this be her singing, what must be her crying?"

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

The two forthcoming volumes of Macaulay's "History of England," so often to be published in a day or two, will now—we state it on the authority of the London *Leader*—positively be published during the Autumn months.

——The number of visitors to Abbotsford, the far-famed abode of genius, far exceeds those of any previous year. America, of all foreign States, sends the greatest number. The *Edinburgh Courant* mentions as an instance of Yankee enthusiasm, that an American lately offered "any money for a few grey hairs from the mane of Sir Walter's old pony."

——Fattening Young Ladies in Tunis.—A girl, after she is betrothed, is cooped up in a small room, with shackles of gold and silver upon her ancles and wrists. If she is to be married to a man who has discharged, despatched, or lost a former wife, the shackles which the former wife wore are put upon the new bride's limbs, and she is fed till she is filled up to the proper thickness. The food used for this custom, worthy of barbarians, is a seed called *drough*, which is of an extraordinary fattening quality. With this seed, and their national dish, *cuscusoo*, the bride is literally crammed, and many actually die under the spoon.—*Colonel Keating's Travels in Europe and Asia.*

——Respecting the invention of that hasty, but invaluable servant, the lucifer-match, the *Gateshead Observer* has the following: "A quarter of a century ago, Mr. John Walker, of Stockton-upon-Tees, then (as now) carrying on the business of chemist and druggist in that town, was preparing some lighting mixture for his own use. By the accidental friction on the hearth of a match dipped in the mixture, a light was obtained. The hint was not thrown away. Mr. Walker commenced the sale of friction matches. This was in April, 1827. 'Young England,' who has come into existence since that day, now buys a pocketful of lucifers for a penny. Mr. Walker, for a box of fifty, with a piece of doubled sand-paper for friction, got a shilling! 'Prometheans' and other competitors beat him down to sixpence; and then, unwilling to be still further beaten down, he renounced the sale."

——A New Organized Being.—According to some Italian journals, a new organized being has been discovered, in the interior of Africa, which seems to form an immediate link between vegetable and animal life. This singular production of nature has the shape of a spotted serpent. It drags itself along on the ground; and, instead of a head, has a flower, shaped like a bell, which contains a viscous liquid. Flies and other insects, attracted by the smell of the juice, enter the flower, where they are caught by the adhesive matter. The flower then closes, and remains shut until the prisoners are bruised and transformed into chyle. The indigestible portion, such as the head and wings, are thrown out by aspiral openings. The vegetable serpent has a skin resembling leaves, a white and soft flesh, (instead of a bony skeleton) a cartilaginous frame, filled with yellow marrow. The natives consider it excellent food.—(London) *Daily News.*

——A Kind Word With Jonathan.—Perish all cod and mackeral in the Ocean—fine eating as they are—before we go to war with Brother Jonathan for a cause as scaly as any fish can be that have two scales. We can't think of quarreling with Jonathan about fish at a time when our general enemy is plotting everywhere to reduce us, in a greater measure than we like, to a fish diet; and would, if possible, move all nations, and Heaven and Earth, and another place also, even worse than Ireland, against us for that end. We must recollect that Jonathan is now the only national creature of any importance, except ourselves, that is not priest-ridden and soldier-ridden; the Soldier in the saddle, and the Jack-Priest on the crupper. Our natural relation to Jonathan at present should be that of a league, offensive and defensive, against despotism and papal petticoat government all over the world.—*Punch.*

——The Harsh Educational System.—What Anselm, of Canterbury, at the end of the eleventh century, said against the rigid monastic discipline, is admirable. An abbot complained in conversation with him, of the incorrigible youths, who would not be amended by all the correction he administered. Anselm replied, "you never cease beating the boys, and what sort of men will they be when they grow up?" "Stupid and brutish," answered the abbot. "A good sign for your method of education," said Anselm, "when you educate men into brutes!" The abbot answered, "Is that our fault? We try to compel them in all manner of ways, to be better, and yet we effect nothing." "You compel them?" answered Anselm: "Tell me, then, I pray you, if you planted a tree in your garden, and enclosed it on all sides, so that it could not spread out its branches in any direction; and after some years transplant it in an open space, what kind of tree would it have become? Certainly a useless one, with crooked, tangled branches. And whose fault would it be but your fault, who trained the tree in this over compulsory manner?"—*Neander's Memorials of Christian Life.*

——A Literary Curiosity.—We have a real curiosity before us in the shape of a book. It is a handsome octavo volume, containing Bishop Burnet's "History of the Reign of James II.," edited by Dr. Routh, the President of Magdalen College, Oxford—the college so intimately connected with the reverses of King James. The venerable editor is now in his ninety-seventh year—and the task which he has just completed has been undertaken susequently to the publication of Mr. Macaulay's history. Dr. Routh has been president of Magdalen for sixty-one years, and, when an undergraduate, was well acquainted with Dr. Theophilus Leigh, who was then Master of Balliol College—an office which he held for *fifty-nine* years. Dr. Leigh was elected master of Balliol in 1726; when he was, it is said, considerably past forty: so that the editor of Burnett's "King James II.," in 1852, was the friend of the master of Balliol, who was born in the reign of James II.; and had conversed, as is well known, with many of the active participators in those stirring times. Here, therefore, is a book illustrative of events, the least recent of which happened 164 years ago, edited by one whose information is derived in parts, and coloured in others, from a friend who was born, in all probability, before the battle of Sedgemoor and the accession of King James.—*Athenæum.*

——When Kosciusko came to England, after being emancipated from the dungeon into which he had been flung by the Empress Catherine, he sent a note to Wolcot, [Peter Pindar] apologizing for requesting a call from him, and pleading his sufferings from his wounds for not calling upon the Doctor. 'I was surprised,' said Wolcot, 'at such a request, but I went and saw the great man, extended on a sofa. After the first civilities between two perfect strangers were past, I asked him how it happened that he sent for me?'

"'When I was thrown into that miserable Russian prison, where I had nothing to relieve the *ennui* that haunted me, I asked the jailer if he could lend me a book, and he brought me, without knowing what it was, a volume of your works, taken from some unhappy prisoner that had preceded me. I was so pleased at the freedom with which you lashed great people and their failings, that, though knowing England to be a land of freedom, I determined the first person I saw there should be yourself. I have with me two bottles of Italian wine, said to be the real Falernian. You must take one away with you, that we may pledge each other in the wine of Horace.'

"I took my leave of Kosciusko, much pleased with him. Will you believe it, scarce a single person of any moment in this country called upon the sufferer, except Charles Fox, so little did the villainous partition of Poland excite our sympathy. Perhaps our aristocracy would not fly in the face of Russian Messalina; 'heroism is not to their taste.'"—*British Journal.*

——The follwing anecdote is told by the author of the Paris letters in l'Assemblee Nationale, and quoted by l'Industriel Calaisien: "Some days since, a manufacturer happened to be dining with a magistrate. All the guests were enjoying the lively talk of a novelist, who also works for the theatre, and, by the way, works exceedingly well. That evening he was full of fun; his wit sparkled like a discharge of fireworks. The dinner went off like a flash of lightning" (This, you perceive, is a French way of writing briskly for the country newspapers).

"When they had left the table, the manufacturer took the novelist aside, and with a bow said,

"Ah! Monsieur, how much you have gratified me!"

"Monsieur!"

"No, really; you have a great reputation for talent; but I did not expect to find you so amusing."

"But, Monsieur!"

"Monsieur," continued the manufacturer, "my wife is indisposed."

"Ah!"

"For some time past she has been dull and out of spirits. Would you have the goodness to come and dine with me one of these days? You will amuse her."

"You believe that I shall amuse your wife?"

"I do, indeed. Do come."

"Very well, Monsieur; but of course you know the terms?"

"The manufacturer stared at the novelist.

"The terms!" he repeated, like a man who tries to understand what is meant.

"Certainly," replied the other, without hesitation: "when I dine out—with a manufacturer—that's five hundred francs."

"Ah!"

"To be sure! You manufacture chemicals, or cotton goods, or beet-root sugar, or heaven knows what; you sell those things, and get your living by them, don't you?"

"Yes; but"—

"I," continued the novelist, "work my brains, and I live by what I can spin out of them; that's my merchandise, you understand. When a gentleman invites me to dinner, to amuse his wife, who is dull, that's six hundred francs."

"What a capital joke!"

"No joke at all! Madame your wife is a little low; *Eh bien!* send me the cash, and I will come and divert her."

The dinner has not yet been reported.

——Jesting on the Deathbed—Curious Dying Scenes.—According to Fielding, Jonathan Wild picked the pocket of the ordinary while he was exhorting him in the cart, and went out of the world with the parson's corkscrew and thumb bottle in his hand. Petronius, who was master of the ceremonies and inventor of pleasures at the court of Nero, when he saw that elegant indulgence was giving place to coarse debauchery, perceived, at once, that his term of favour had arrived, and it was time to die. He resolved, therefore, to anticipate the tyrant, and disrobe death of his paraphernalia of terror. Accordingly, he entered a warm bath and opened his veins, composed verses, jested with his familiar associates, and died off by insensible degrees. Democritus, the laughing philosopher, disliking the inconveniences and infirmities of a protracted old age, made up his mind to die on a certain day; but, to oblidge his sister, he postponed his departure until the three feasts of Ceres were over. He supported nature on a pot of honey to the appointed hour, and then expired by arrangement. When the three sons of Diagoras of Rhodes were crowned at the Olympic games, "Die, Diagoras," whispered a friendly Lacedæmonian, "for you are too happy to live any longer." He took the hint, and forthwith expired of joy in the arms of his children. The Emperor Vespasian, on his deathbed, sarcastically remarked to his courtiers and flatterers, "I feel that I am about becoming a god!" The first Darius, King of Persia, when dying, desired to have this intellectual epitaph engraved on his tomb: "Here lies King Darius, who was able to drink many bottles of wine without staggering." Jerome Cardan, a celebrated Italian physician, starved himself gradually, and calculated with such mathematical nicety, as to hit the very day and hour foretold. When Rabelais was dying, the cardinal sent a page to inquire how he was. Rabelais joked with the envoy until he felt his strength declining, and his last moments approach. He then said, "Tell his eminence the state in which you left me. I am going to inquire into a great possibility. He is in a snug nest, let him stay there as long as he can. Draw the curtain, the farce is over." When the famous Count de Grammont was reported to be in extremity, the king, Louis XIV. being told of his total want of religious feeling, which shocked him not a little, sent the Marquis de Dangeau, to beg him, for the credit of the court, to die like a good Christian. He was scarcely able to speak, but, turning round to his countess, who had always been remarkable for her piety, he said, with a smile, "Countess, take care, or Dangeau will filch from you the credit of my conversion."—*Dublin University Magazine.*

——Hobbyhorses.—One man's hobby is books which he never reads. He spends his life, and all his superfluous cash, in the collection of volumes, of which he never peruses more than the title pages. His shelves are groaning beneath the erudition of all ages and all countries. He gloats over the possession of the rarest works, and will travel from one end of the kingdom to the other for the mere chance of purchasing a unique specimen to add to his collection. It would take him a century to spell over what he has already amassed; but he never dreams of such a thing—he reads the catalogue, the inventory of his riches, and nothing else; every addition to that is an addition to his satisfaction, because it is an additional grace to his hobby. Another man's hobby is pictures. His mind is profoundly impressed with the glories of art—the mysterious gloom of Rembrandt, the savageness of Salvator, the "corregiosity of Corregio." He dreams of old masters, and haunts the dusty purlieus of Wardour street and Soho, and hangs about the auction rooms, and nods his head at Christie at the cost of fifty pounds a time. He is learned in oils and varnishes, and knows "all about megilps and that;" he rises with Raphael, of whom an "undoubted original" hangs at the foot of his bed; he breakfasts with Hobbima, dines with Rubens, sups with Vandyke, and goes to sleep with Claude Lorraine. He is never taken in; not he, he is too good a judge for that! *Is he?* The hobby of a third steady rider is autographs. He sees a charm in the handwriting of remarkable persons superior to anything else that belonged to them. His treasures are scraps of paper, old letters, blank leaves torn from books, or franked envelopes. The genuine "⋈ his mark," of some barren bold of the unlearned middle age, if he could get it, would be dearer to him than a check on Coults and Co. for a good round sum. He enshrines his blotted boards in close cabinets, under lock and key, and dares not trust them otherwise out of sight, lest Betty should mistake them for waste paper, and consign them to the kitchen fire. A fourth rides a musical hobby, and goes merrily through the world to the sound of fiddle and flute, and French horn and double bass. He puffs and scrapes, and blows and thumps away the days of his years upon all manner of instruments; and his mouth is full of German and Italian celebrities—of Mozart and Beethoven, and Sebastian Bach and Padre Martini, and Albrechtsberger and Rhigini, and Cherubini and Cianchettini, "and all others that end in ini;" and Spohr, and Grann, and Droebs, and Eybler, and Schneider, and a hundred and fifty more, whom to pronounce were to discolate one's jaw, but whom to hear were to be rapt in elysium. His whole life is one song; and when he sinks into silence at last, it is with the blessed hope of a joyful *da capo* in the land of celestial harmony.—*Tait's Magazine.*

——A Word on Literary Forgeries.—While, however, we express our admiration at the unexampled skill which Mr. Surtees displayed in these pseudo-old ballads, we cannot withhold our reprehension from the manner in which he introduced them to public notice: "The following romantic fragment (which I have no further meddled with than to fill up a hemistitch, and complete rhyme and metre) I have from the imperfect recitation of Ann Douglas, a withered crone, who weeded in my garden." Such is the statement sent by Mr. Surtees to Sir Walter Scott respecting "Bartram's Dirge," every syllable of which we now *know* was written by himself! In like manner, "Albany Featherstonhaugh" was sent to Scott with the remark, that it also was taken down from the recitation of an old woman, who remembered it being sung in her youth "until the rafters skirled again." It was accompanied by learned notes, respecting which Sir Walter says, "your notes upon the parties concerned give it all the interest of authenticity; and it must rank, I suppose, among those half-serious, half-ludicrous songs, in which the poets of the Border delighted to describe what they considered as "the sport of swords" Indeed, so well assured was Scott of its authenticity, that in the last edition of the "Border Minstrelsy," published but a year before his death, it still retains its place. Now, the duplicity of Chatterton under precisely similar circumstances, has often been sternly denounced; but what shall we say to a gentleman of allowed probity doing for a mere whim what that "marvellous boy" did actually for bread? Surely, the reverence for truth, as truth—and this alone affords a solid basis for veracity—must be weak in the mind which plays with falsehood even in the guise of a spurious ballad. Indeed, we cannot well imagine a man fitted for an h[illegible]torian who could display so little reverence for [illegible]cal truth.—*Athenæum: Review of "Mem[illegible] Surtees."*